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E S S A Y S

FROM THE

B A T C H E L O R,

I N

P R O S E A N D V E R S E

By the A U T H O R S of the
EPISTLE to GORGES EDMOND HOWARD, Esq.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L. II.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

DUBLIN, PRINTED;
LONDON, reprinted, for T. BECKET, in the Strand.

MDCCLXXIII.

ESSAYS

FROM THE

BATCHLOR,

IN

PROSE AND VERSE

By the AUTHOR of the
Travels to Georgia, London, Howard, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

LONDON, printed, for T. BAKER, in the Strand.
MDCCLXXIII.

THE

BATCHELOR.

NUMBER XLIV.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

THE passionate and tender sentiments of love, are expressed with elegance and classical purity, in the following beautiful verses. By inserting them in your Speculations, you will oblige,

MUSÆUS.

KISSES.

By PAUL JODDEREL, Esq.

SOLICITOR to the late PRINCE of WALES.

AS erst to Damon's sacred shade,
These eyes their grateful tribute paid,
Of many a tear beguil'd :
Sweet Anna saw my tender grief,
And in kind pity brought relief :
She kiss'd me, and I smiled.

Ambition next my bosom warm'd,
Adieu each softer care :

Alarm'd the fair enchantress came;
One kiss infus'd a gentler fire,
I felt the nobler heat expire,
And curs'd the phantom Fame.

Transfix'd by Envy's poison'd dart,
When late my inly-ferd'ring heart,
Consum'd in silent pain ;
Like wounded Edward's gen'rous bride,
Sweet Anne her balmy lips apply'd,
And drew out all the bane.

Strange to relate, the tygress Rage,
Her gentle kisses can assuage,
And in soft fetters bind ;
Not music's powerful charms e'er gain'd,
Or calm philosophy attain'd
Such empire o'er the mind.

Then to secure my peace and bliss,
Sweet Anne, in one eternal kiss,
Breathe in th' all healing balm ;
No, cease thou fatal fond desire,
Ah, treach'rous kisses, you inspire
More passions than you calm.

 N U M B E R XLV.

Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari.

HOR.

A PINDARIC ODE, set to Music, and performed at Doctor LUCAS's House in Henry-street, on the Birth of his Daughter.

I MUST, I will aspire,
 And wake the sleeping lyre ;
 Fair Libertina's praise to sing :
 Celestial Muse descend,
 Thy inspiration lend,
 And bear me on thy tow'ring wing.

Shout, shout, all Chequer-lane,
 Raise high the jocund strain,
 To notes of rapture, swell thy voice ;
 Smock-alley, and Blind-quay,
 Exalt the choral lay,
 Ye sons of Pimlico rejoice !

June to adorn,
 This day, a babe is born,
 The fruit of LUCAS' latter days :
 The mother chaste and kind,
 With persevering mind,
 Long toil'd this patriot plant to raise.

THE BATCHELOR.

Beat, beat, the thund'ring drums,
 She comes, fair Freedom comes,
 Her new born triumphs to display ;
 The Comb, and Poddle crowd,
 Should hail with voices loud,
 Fair Libertina's natal day.

Oh lovely Libertine,
 In all thy air and mien,
 I see bright Liberty portray'd ;
 Thy amorous sparkling eye,
 Thy lip, thy leg and leper thigh,
 For freedom's rapturous joys are made.

Hark, hark the infant speaks,
 In infant notes she squeaks,
 " Da, to thy country, still be true."
 Amaz'd nurse Phegan cries,
 " Sweet miss, God save your eyes,
 " And God save da, and country too."

The cocklofts catch the sound,
 To kitchen it went round ;
 The scullion, " Save my country !" cries.
 Above stairs and below,
 The patriot accents flow,
 While Libertina freedom squalls.

LUCAS, the sage, the grey,
 Charm'd with the sound grows gay,

And

And of his wond'rous offspring proud,
His crutches he forgoes,
Springs high on chalky toes,
And "Save my country!" echoes round.
"This happy babe, he cries, I see,
"In times remote shall copy me,
"And vulgar females soar above :
"To spurn restraint shall be her pride,
"Her freedom's voice alone shall guide,
"In politics and love.
"Warm'd with Macauly's generous rage,
"Deep read in Wilkes's pious page,
"This maid, her country shall reclaim:
"Hibernia's modest manners taught,
"With all my low'ring spirit fraught,
"I see, I see her soar to fame.
"To thee, O Phegan, I consign,
"This miracle, this maid divine ;
"Let her, her father's triumphs know,
"Tell her whole corporations quake,
"And Vice-roys tremble, when he spake,
"While freedoms sons with rapture glow.
"Tell her, when young and poor,
"I kept a shop obscure ;
"My soul aspir'd on daring wings,
"Even glisters when I gave,
"I spurn'd an impious slave,
"And libell'd ministers and kings.

" When by a base and servile band,
 " The licens'd robbers of the land,
 " To Newgate I was doom'd a prey,
 " A patriot firm, I persever'd,
 " Nor long the haughty Commons fear'd,
 " But stole triumphantly away.

" Thus, when my story's told,
 " Like me in virtue bold,
 " She'll bravely scorn each servile hack :
 " By no false shame dismay'd
 " Of no man's pow'r afraid,
 " On no man will she turn her back.

" Now, Phegan, be the babe convey'd
 " To Copper-alley's favoury shade,
 " To save her from vile courtier's ire ;
 " With brandy stain her tender lip,
 " Oft whiskey's spirit let her sip,
 " With patriot thoughts her soul to fire.

" In Turnstile-alley's friendly gloom,
 " Where sheltered from the glare of noon,
 " The fair are screen'd from bailiffs foul,
 " Let her, while youthful blood invites,
 " Freely indulge love's soft delights,
 " And crown with punch the mantling
 " bowl.

" Oft in her riper years employ,
 " Some porter strong, or butcher's boy,

“ To struggle with the growing maid :

“ That every muscle firmly set,

“ Her body, as her mind, beset,

“ Fair freedom’s warlike band to lead.

“ In field renown’d of Runymede,

“ On copy fair of Magna Charta laid ;

“ Lo puritan Macaulay rest :

“ See pious Wilkes curl round the dame,

“ Behold she mingles flame with flame,

“ And *forty-five* times clasps him to her
“ breast.

“ What glitt’ring visions charm my eyes !

“ What scenes of future glory rise !

“ From this embrace, *another* Wilkes I see,

“ I see him doom’d to Libertina’s bed,

“ I see (the scourge of thrones) their issue
“ spread ;

“ All hail, illustrious free-born progeny !”

Thus spoke the fire, and in his arms

Embraced his daughter’s infant charms,

And dandled her and kiss’d :

Fair Libertina smil’d and squall’d,

And playful laugh’d, and playful bawl’d,

And jump’d, and kick’d, and p—fs’d.

 N U M B E R X L V I .

Cum tot fustineas, et tanta negotia solus.

HOR.

An EPISTLE to GORGES EDMOND HOWARD, Esq. with Notes explanatory, critical, and historical, by GEORGE FAULKNER, Esq. and Alderman. The Ninth Edition, with material Additions.

Advertisement, by the Annotator.

THIS Poem is justly ranked with the most celebrated compositions of Doctor Swift, Pope, Major Pack, Cowley, Prior, Mrs. Pilkington, Parnel, Addison, and Henry Jones, whose Works may be had, bound or in sheets, at my Shop in Parliament-street. I have undertaken, at the request of my friends, to add Annotations, Remarks, Strictures, and Observations, explanatory, critical, and historical, for the benefit of strangers, who might otherwise be ignorant of many persons, things, and circumstances, alluded to in the composition, after the manner and form of my Notes on Dr. Jonathan Swift, D. S. P. D. that have not a little contributed to improve, and likewise make his Works be understood. I should now likewise observe, that it hath already gone thro' eight editions in the city of Dublin, this being the ninth, and two in London, where I am less known, but by my Journal
and

and the Earl of Chesterfield which maketh its circulation much more general, the Monthly Reviewers for the month of August 1772, remarking, "That it is a piece of excellent humour at the expence of Mr. Faulkner the printer," affording the highest entertainment thereat; whereby they mean Mr. Howard the Attorney. Printed by William Goldsmith, in Pater-noster-Row; and T. Lewis, in Ruffel street, Covent-garden.

*An EPISTLE to GORGES EDMOND
HOWARD, Esq. (a)*

LET F-k-r boast (b) of rhymes and letters,
To praise himself and maul his betters;
For

(a) *Epistle to G. E. H.*]—He hath amassed a considerable fortune by various means, and lived in tolerable repute, as a practising attorney; till he quarrelled with the author hereof; who has since exposed him in sundry witty paragraphs, pointed epigrams, stinging repartees, facetious verses, biting epistles, humorous acrostics, sharp raileries, keen retorts, brilliant quibbles, and anonymous stanzas.

(b) *Let Faulkner boast, &c.*]—George Faulkner, printer, bookseller, and author of the Dublin Journal. He hath lived with the first wits of the present age in great credit, and upon a footing of much intimacy and kindness. He is well known to have been the particular friend of the dean of St. Patrick's, and at this moment corresponds with the earl of Chesterfield, whose letters will be published.

For law and wit we read your page,
Which guides the courts, and charms the
stage (c).

The

lished by him immediately after the demise of said earl. He was sent to Newgate by the House of Commons, in the year 1738, for his steadiness in prevaricating in the cause of liberty; and sworn an alderman of Dublin in the year 1770: fined for not serving the office of sheriff in the year 1768. His Journal (to which he hath lately-added a fourth column) is circulated all over Europe, and taken in at the coffee-houses in Constantinople, besides Bath, Bristol, Boston, Tunbridge Wells, Brighthelmstone, Virginia, and Eyre-Connaught. In his paragraphs he hath always studied the prosperity and honour of his native country, by strenuously decrying of whiskey, projecting cellars, holes made by digging for gravel in the high roads, voiding of excrements in the public streets, throwing of squibs, crackers, sky-rockets, and bone-fires; by which many lives are lost, men, women, and children maimed, sick persons disturbed out of their sleep, eyes burned out, and horses startled; recommending it to archbishops, dukes, lords, privy-counsellors, generals, colonels, field-officers, and captains, to fall down precipices, tumble into cellars, be overturned by rubbish thrown in the streets, in order to remove nuisances; dissuading all bloods, bucks, smarts, rapparees, and other such infernal night-walkers, from committing man-slaughter upon pigs, hackney horses, watchmen's lanterns, and other enormities: profane cursing and swearing, and break-
ing

The *ermin'd* sages quote your *Pleas*,
And children lisp your roundelays.

On

ing the Sabbath, and the Commandments; exclaiming against the importation of potatoes, and advising to grow more corn; inciting to virtue by characters in his Journal, and calling upon the magistrates to do their duty.—The earl of Chesterfield compareth him unto Atticus, a Roman baronet, and fundry other compliments.—N. B. His nephew Todd, continueth to make the best brawn, and hath lately imported a large quantity of James's Powders.

Besides the great men above-mentioned, as dean Swift and the earl of Chetterfield, who at present correspond with the author hereof, he hath the most kind, affectionate, and complimentary letters from the celebrated Mr. Pope, of which the following underwritten epistle is a copy.

“ To Mr. George Faulkner, Bookseller, in
“ Dublin.

“ S I R,

“ I hear you have lately published an edition
“ of Doctor Swift's Works: send it to me by the
“ first opportunity, and assure the Dean that I am
“ ever, his sincere and affectionate servant.

“ ALEXANDER POPE.”

Also the following most friendly letter from the famous Mr. Wilkes.

“ To Alderman Faulkner, Dublin.

“ S I R,

“ As I have no farther occasion for your Jour-
“ nal; I desire you will discontinue sending it to
“ your humble servant, JOHN WILKES.”

On Fancy's wing aloft you soar,
 To praise Monroe (*d*), and Letty Gore ;
Their

(*c*) *Which guides the courts, and charms the stage.*]—Howard hath published Pleas on the Exchequer Equity ; Rules of Chancery ; Almeyda, or the Rival Kings, a Tragedy ; the Siege of Tamar, and the Female Gamester in Manuscript.

(*d*) *To praise Monroe.*]—This hinteth unto the under-written stanzas of said Howard, whereby he adviseth and encourageth a painter to proceed in painting said lady, and likewise publicly declareth, that he himself will be an adventurer, and will dare to undertake to complete, and also to finish the piece, by partly supplying some hints, whereby said painter may be forwarded in his work.

*To a certain Nobleman, on being told he had wished for
 the Picture of a celebrated Beauty.*

Fond swain, I hear your wish is such,
 Some painter should on canvass touch
 The beauties of Monroe ;
 But where's th' adventurer will dare
 The happy mixture to prepare,
 Her peerless charms to shew.

Yet by those radiant beauties fir'd,
 And my ambitious muse inspir'd,
 Let me some hints supply :
 To nature's stores then straight resort,
 Cull ev'ry tint, the goddess court,
 This piece to dignify.

—First, let the cheek with blushes glow,
 Just as when damask roses blow,
Glist'ning

Their charms shall last in song divine,
Like embryos preserv'd in wine (*e*).

Your

Glitt'ning with morning dew ;
Contrasted with the virgin white,
With which the lily glads the sight,
Blend them in lovely hue.

And truly then, that cheek to grace,
Upon her flowing tresses place
The chesnut's auburn down ;
Her lips you may in fort depaint,
By cherries ripe, yet ah 'twere faint,
Should them with her's be shewn.

Next, let two eyes with lustre gleam,
Ev'n as the sun's reflected beam,
Upon the glassy lake ;
Tinge it with dye of brilliant jet,
Let it in milk be sweetly set,
Each wand'ring heart to take.

Let the transparent web of lawn,
Be o'er the virgin bosom drawn,
As fair—yet cold as snow ;
That love may thro' the veil espy,
What else were more than mortal eye,
Cou'd view and safely know.

But O to trace th' internal grace,
That beams divinely in her face,
How vain the muse would soar :
If e'er celestial cherub came,
To bless thy sight, in mystic dream,
Snatch that—the task is o'er.

(*e*) *Like embryos preserv'd in wine.*] — Embryos
are young children which are not born, which
anatomists

Your classic pencil finely traces,
The beauties of the SISTER GRACES; (f)

When

anatomists, after they come into the world, preserve in spirits of wine in bottles. There is the finest collection of these in the known world, in the College Anatomy-house, in Dublin; also many human figures of both sexes in wax, in the fact of child-bearing, a dead shark, and an Ægyptian mummy, as old as king Charlemagne.—It may be of great service to families who are apt to keep their children in bottles, to mention an accident which happened by this means, to a person who was my particular acquaintance. Being taken in the night with a violent tooth-ach, and wanting to swage it with brandy, or some hot liquor, he started out of bed in the dark, and seized a bottle which he found on the top of the chimney, but being surpris'd to meet something solid between his teeth, he cried out to his lady, who was asleep by his side, what's this in the bottle over the chimney? and was much concern'd and ready to vomit, when she replied, that it could be nothing else but poor little Dickey. —By burying them decently as soon as they are born, it may prevent their being drank, and other accidents to which bottled children are liable.

(f) *The beauties of the SISTER GRACES.*]—Three Miss Montgomeries, on whom Howard wrote the following under-written verses, printed in these notes.

*On the Absence and Return of the THREE
FAVOURITE SISTERS.*

Of late Love's Queen all in despair,
Fled through each region of the air,

When in an easy vein you tell us,
Of Love's mistake, and Venus jealous.

His fire, his fortune to improve,
To study law young Ovid drove (g),
He heeded nought but verse and love.

The

Her graces were astray :
To seek them Maia's winged son,
From Pole to Pole with speed had run ;
It was a bustling day.

Cupid, who had to earth been sent,
Return'd, with haste and toil near spent,
And vow'd he saw them there :
That 'twas on fam'd Ierne's shore,
Than which with beauties none shines more,
On the terrestrial sphere.

Straightway a troop of little Loves,
Who tend their Queen where e'er she moves,
And bask in her sweet eyes :
Flew for the nymphs, whom, when they brought,
Alack ! 'twas found the urchins caught,
The three Montgomeries.

Soon as their charms shone full to view,
The Paphian Goddess jealous grew,
She fear'd her future reign :
Her boy she chid for his mistake,
Nor would forgive, 'till he took back
The three to earth again.

(g) *To study law young Ovid drove.*] — Ovid, otherwise called Naso, a famous poet in the reign of Augustus. He wrote several books of Metamorphosis, or the changing of one thing into another,

The same thy vein ;—but happier you,
 Can make estates and verses too ;
 In both you equally succeed,
 Resistless when you sing or plead :
 Thus by the force of different arts,
 Men lose their lands, and maids their hearts.

Oh how each breast with rapture glow'd,
 At your sublime Pindaric Ode (b) ;

With

other, Love Epistles, and Fast Days : he was not called to the bar, nor ever practised as an attorney. For farther particulars see his works, in *Usum Delphini*, printed and sold by me in Parliament-street.

(b) *At your sublime Pindaric Ode.*—Howard wrote an Ode on his Majesty's Birth-day, which much resembleth Dryden's on the Feast of Alexander. I have consulted sundry of the best critics, judges, and geniuses ; Mr. Dexter, who keepeth the Four-Courts Marshalsea ; Mr. Kavanagh, attorney at law ; Mr. Croker ; Alderman Emerson, at the Spinning-Wheel, Castle-street, and others ; who all assure me they don't think Howard's Ode superior to Dryden's. In my own opinion, Dryden's is preferable.—For instance, the following stanzas equal, if not superior to, any of the afore-said poet's, or of Swift, Pope, Pindar, Plutarch, or C. Cibber.

I.

Celestial maids descend and sing,
 With rapture touch the trembling string ;
 To hail the sun of this auspicious morn,
 On which the Star of Britain's isle was born.

II. While

With your applause the garden rings (*i*),
 When you describe the best of Kings ;
 All hearts to loyalty you tune (*k*),
 'Till Jacobites turn Whigs in June (*l*) !

Well,

II.

While conquerors joy in din of arms,
 And shake the globe with dire alarms,
 Great GEORGE's glory is to be
 The best, the Father of the free.

III.

When Death shall blot out every name,
 And Time shall break the trump of Fame :
 When tongues shall cease, and worlds consume
 Thy fame shall last, thy glories bloom.

(*i*) *With your applause the Garden rings.*]—The Garden, commonly called the New-Gardens, or Doctor Bartholomew Mofs's Gardens. They were opened in the year 1757, and an hospital erected for lying-in women. 'Tis an excellent charity, and a stately edifice.—This note was sent me by an ingenious friend, who desires his name may not be made public.

(*k*) *All hearts to loyalty you tune.*]—The people of Ireland are remarkable for a great deal of loyalty, and thick legs : as proof of this, the Government goes in their coaches every 4th of November round the statue of his Majesty King George II. at Stephen's-green, in honour of King William III. who hath one of his own in College-green, of glorious and immortal memory, whom God long preserve.

(*l*) *Jacobites turn Whigs in June.*]—The furious, blind, rank sticklers for the house of Stuart, were called

Well Bart'lemon (*m*), you may take pride in
A bard who soars above old Dryden (*n*);

For

called Jacobites, because they abhorred, detested, and disliked King William III. of glorious and immortal memory. I knew a Jacobite of great learning, parts, and erudition, who was found smothered alive in the Black-hole at Calcutta, with my Journal in his fob.

(*m*) *Bart'lemon.*]—A celebrated musician, who playeth upon the fiddle at the New-Gardens, or Doctor Bartholomew Moss's Gardens. He set Howard's Ode to music, on the birth-day of his Majesty George III. whom God long preserve.

Vivat Rex.

(*n*) *A bard who soars above old Dryden.*]—John Dryden, a poet, who was well known in the reign of Charles II. He was born of a gentleman's family in Northamptonshire. In order to give his countrymen of Ireland some more intimate knowledge of him, (no author's works having a better sale at my shop in Parliament-street) I undertook a journey to London, to collect materials for his life; but after remaining there three months for this purpose, I could only learn that he was accustomed to sit in a big chair among the wits at Button's; and this my friends telling me not being sufficient for a life of said poet, I accordingly discontinued it.

I also begun a life of the Dean of St. Patrick's, in a style which was much admired, and equal to the fine simplicity of the Greeks, and the Dean himself, which I begun in this manner. "Dean Swift was a man who had wax in his ears." I

am.

For who that Howard's Ode can taste,
 Will relish Alexander's Feast?
 Shou'd foolish George attempt to turn all
 Your works to burlesque, in his Journal,
 You'll make him of your wit the butt,
 And prove a deadlier foe than Foote (o).

For

am in possession of many other anecdotes, known to no person now living, and when they are completed it will be published by me and my executors in Parliament-street.

(o) *And prove a deadlier foe than Foote.*]—Samuel Foote, Esq. manager of the Theatre-Royal in the Hay-Market, London. He exposed Alderman Faulkner, under the character of Peter Paragraph, in one of his pieces, acted upon Smock-alley stage, in Dublin. He was prosecuted for said offence by Mr. Faulkner, and tried before Mr. Justice Robinson, who inveighed very eloquently against stage-players, and said he might be considered as rubbish or a dunghill, and brought under the head of nuisances.—The learned council for the prosecutor, also compared him unto Aristophanes; and the alderman unto Socrates; adding also, that Socrates was not the worse for the comparison. The play-house would have run with blood on this occasion, and many swords would have been drawn, had not Mr. Faulkner prevailed on his friends (who were present every night of the representation) to hear the piece out, and let him take his remedy by law; to which they very obligingly consented.—N. B. Said Foote hath with
 impu-

For tho' good-natur'd all your life,
 Averse to calumny and strife,
 Yet Satire's sting you can impart,
 Tho' oft good nature hides the dart :
 On thistles thus soft down we spy,
 Yet underneath sharp prickles lie ;
 In vain the Freeman aid shall bring,
 " You're not a bee without a sting (p) ;"

Tho'

impunity exposed upon the stage, some of the greatest men, and greatest wits now living; such as the late Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Glover, the late Alderman Beckford, Mr. Langford the auctioneer, Mr. Peter Taylor, and the Rev. Mr. Whitfield. He lost his leg by a providential fall from his horse, in company with his late Royal Highness the Duke of York, at the seat of the Earl of Mexborough, he was taken up much bruised, and the amputation was performed by surgeon Bromfeild.

(p) "*You're not a bee without a sting.*"]—There is a peculiar felicity (as I am told) in this comparison of Howard unto a bee, although the Epistle sayeth that he "is not a bee," for whereas a bee never resteth upon any bud or flower, but flyeth about in wandring and uncertain angles, from sbrub to shrub, and from hollyhock to poppy, and never is content until his bags be filled; so Howard hath amassed an ample fortune by different occupations; and also hath completed a volume of apophthegms, from the divers rich spoils
 of

Tho' wisely ev'ry sweet you cull,
 Of which your apophthegms are full (q).
 Your verse the Irish (r) SHAMROCK saves,
 You stamp your genius on its leaves :

St.

of learning which he hath happened to encounter in his poring over books, many of which he hath had access to in my shop in Parliament-street.

(q) *Of which your apophthegms are full.*]—Some of the greatest geniuses of antiquity, and the moderns, have taken particular delight in collecting all the wise sayings, and brilliant proverbs of the cute observers upon men, manners, and things—an excellent collection of this sort is to be found in one of the last pages of Boyer's French Gentleman's Grammar. But I am informed that the Lord Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Alban's, and Plutarch, have been more industrious in this way than any of their cotemporaries, the moderns. Howard in imitation of these supernatural wits, is also the author of a compilation of an octavo volume, under the title of Howard's Apophthegms, collected from Bacon, Plutarch, Sir John Fielding, Julius Cæsar, the Wit's Vade Mecum, Solon, a Christmas Box for Young Ladies, Taylor's Holy Living and Dying, and the Buck's Companion.

(r) *Your verse the Irish SHAMROCK saves.*]—This most certainly meaneth the multifarious collection of poems, printed in a thick volume in quarto, at the instigation of Mr. White, the writing-master, in Grafton-street, by subscription, for his benefit, which consisteth of his pupils, their

St. Patrick with a gracious smile,
Beholds *the* poet of his isle,

In

their fathers, grand-mothers, aunts, parents, cousins and other kindred, whose names are made public for the encouragement of the work.—

Said Mr. White farther teacheth, and instructeth, young masters, misses, and other children who are come to their full growth, in the Whole Circle of the Sciences, such as Salmon's Gazetteer, astronomy, the whole secret of spelling made easy to the meanest capacities, the use of their letters to those who cannot read, geography, the true meaning of the globes, history, and other branches of the mathematics.—The big book of Madrigals which he published he styleth the SHAMROCK, it being composed of the choicest pieces of wit and humour which ever appeared, and doth great honour to the geniuses of this kingdom, it having been wrote altogether by Irishmen, ladies, and other lords of quality since the Revolution.—Here followeth two of the most admired verses in the whole production, one being An Epigram on “a lady employed in the office of blowing a *turf* fire with her pettycoat, for want of a pair of bellows.”—And the other on said lady, “who was so disastrous as to spill a dish of tea upon her apron.” Which will do for a sample of the rest, they being equal, if not superior, to any of the foregoing, or those inserted after.

In buskin'd dignity you shine,
 And prove your claim to Norfolk's *line* (s);
 That

EPIGRAM. *On a Cup of Tea, spilt in a Lady's Lap.*

Mourn not, AMIRA, that to love's abode
 The warm adventurous stream presum'd to press:
 Not chance, but some unseen admiring God,
 In rapturous ardour, sought the sweet recess.
 Nor doubt what Deity, so greatly bold,
 In form unusual thus should visit thee;
 'The God who ravish'd in a show'r of gold,
 Can charm the *fair* one in IMPERIAL TEA!

EPIGRAM. *To a young Lady blowing a Turf Fire
 with her Petticoat,*

Cease, cease, AMIRA, peerless maid!
 Though we delighted gaze,
 While artless you excite the flame
 We perish in the blaze.

Haply you too provoke *your* harm,
 Forgive the bold remark,
 Your petticoat may fan the fire,
 But, O! beware a SPARK.

In the same style and form, and I think more
 stinging, I made an Epigram on my Nephew
 'Tom Todd, (which Mr. White promiseth to in-
 sert in his next edition of the Shamrock) who is
 always stirring and rooting the fire because he
 thinks he can never be hot enough since he
 was sun-burnt in the East-Indies, it being there
 dog-days all the year over, summer and winter, as
 it is with us in the dog-days in August.—Tom
 Todd, says I, extempore, You put me to a great
 supernumerary expence in COALS, which costs me
 a great

That *line* which pull'd *fanatics* down,
 And always prop'd the church and crown (1).
 You

a great deal of COLE.—COLE is a cant word among my news-boys and other black-guards, for cash, pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings. This I have briefly expressed in my excellent Epigram, which is as followeth :

Tom Todd the fire a'ways prokes,
 For he's a hearty soul ;
 His uncle cannot SLACK his jokes,
 But always pays the COLE.

Mr. Howard was very much enraged because Mr. White did not print some of his anagrams and acrostics in the body of the work, though he had no just pretension thereto, he not having been one of Mr. White's pupils, nor a subscriber to his book, who, to pacify his rage, made an Appendix to make room for him.—N. B. The SHAMROCK is a green herb, which groweth and flourisheth among the grass, in our pleasure-gardens and in the open fields on St. Patrick's birth day, which commonly happeneth on the 17th day of March, and is worn by most people at home and abroad, especially at court, in crosses in honour of the Saint, who was the first christian bishop of Armagh, and converted the poor infatuated natives of this country from the errors of the church of Rome, by the help of the Shamrock, as said White observeth.—He likewise banished toads, serpents, frogs, snakes, wolves, bears, nightingales, and other venomous creatures, but was pleased to leave us crabs, lobsters, rabbits, and other sea fowl.—The common people most commonly get drunk
 on

You prove what riches tillage yields (u),
And smiling plenty crowns our fields ;

Sure

on this day with whiskey, which occasioneth much fighting, quarrelling, maiming, bruising, bad language, and other accidents.

(s) *And prove your claim to Norfolk's line.*]—The Duke of Norfolk's name is Howard, from which Gorges Howard is descended in a straight line, his ancestor being the Hon. Mr. Edward Howard, who was also reputed a great dunce in the reign of King Charles the II^d. and composed several plays and tragedies, such as the British Princes, King Arthur, &c. which suffered much abuse and provocation, from the witty noblemen of the day, being the Earl of Dorset, Mr. Dryden, Lord Rochester, Mr. Butler author of Hudibras, the Duke of Buckingham and, others.

(t) *And always prop'd the church and crown.*]—Mr. Howard is church-warden of Mary's church, and was employed as an attorney by the Rev. Mr. Moses Magill, the curate of the parish, to speak against the Presbyterians, who refused to pay said Moses for disturbing them with prayers early in the morning at an unseasonable hour, though they never attended divine service ; which Mr. Howard did, to the universal satisfaction of all his parishioners at a vestry.—He is likewise solicitor to the crown, for the quit rents, casual revenue, and other forfeited estates.

(u) *You prove what riches tillage yields.*]—Howard is the author of several letters, signed Agricola, recommended tillage. I printed them without

Sure all who read you must allow,
 You write as if you held the plough.
 You prove by ploughs the kingdom's fed (*w*),
 That *pictures* cannot serve for *bread*:
 From whence 'tis plain this lazy nation,
 Owes to your pen its preservation.

My muse the Architect now greets,
 Whose lofty domes adorn our streets (*x*) ;

Who,

any expence to the author, before our quarrel, but have since declined it. He hath taken most of his hints from my paragraphs, and endeavoured to imitate my style and spirit; but my friends tell me he hath failed therein.

(*w*) *You prove by ploughs the kingdom's fed.*]—Ploughs, an instrument for turning up the earth, were first invented by Triptolemus, a near relation of the Goddess Ceres, and afterwards much improved by Mr. John Wynne, Baker, of the Dublin Society—The Irish formerly ploughed by the tail with their bullocks; but upon Dr. Swift's voyage to the Houynhams being published, and his saying so much in praise of horses, this barbarous, horrid, atrocious, shocking, detestable, cruel, nefarious custom was abolished by act of parliament. See an Abridgement of the Irish Statutes, sold by me in Parliament-street.

(*x*) *Whose lofty domes adorn our streets.*]—Howard owneth many houses in Parliament-street. I built my own house myself, Howard having nothing to say it, nor shall ever come within my doors,

Who, Vanbrugh like, claims double bays (y),
For piling stones and writings plays,

Your

doors, unless it be to pay for advertisements in my Journal, or to buy medicines of my nephew Todd.—It may be worth while to mention a very entertaining anecdote (for the satisfaction of the curious) relating thereunto: when my house was building, I happened to be out of the way one morning, penning an advertisement for an agreeable companion to pay half the expence of a post-chaise, to see that stupendous curiosity of nature, the Giant's Causeway, about which 'tis still a doubt amongst the learned, whether it be done in the common way by Giants, or whether it be an effort of spontaneous nature, and my house was erected without any stair-case; whereby the upper stories were rendered useless, unless by the communication of a ladder placed in the street. But upon considering my misfortune in wanting my member, and the carelessness of hackney coachmen, who drive furiously through the streets at all hours, in a state of drunkenness from the spirituous liquors, whereby the ladder might be shook or thrown down when I was ascending it, I thought it better to re-build my house, and it has at present a stair-case, by which there is a convenient and elegant communication between all parts of said tenement.—It is somewhat remarkable that my house in Essex-street had no stair-case, whereby nature seemeth to point out, that having but one leg, I ought not to attempt climbing, and should always remain on the ground floor.

(y) *Who, Vanburgh like, &c.*]——Sir John Vanbrugh,

Your skill instructs Gymnastic schools (z),
 And Carte and Tierce reduc'd to rules,
 Prove you the first of moral men,
 To poise a sword, or point a pen.

burgh. He was a great poet and architect. I was not personally acquainted with him any farther than printing his works, because he died before my time. Being imprisoned in the Bastile, and having no light, nor pen or ink allowed him, he amused himself with drawing divers plans of the Bastile, which he hath since introduced into many buildings with great success, particularly Blenheim, which much resembleth the Bastile.

(z) *Your skill instructs Gymnastic schools*]—Howard wrote a treatise on fencing, and is accounted an expert swordsman—He declined accepting a challenge which I sent him to fight my nephew Fodd, (in the way of proxy) at the Fifteen Acres, with pistols. I could not fight myself, because I am pledged to the public for my Journal, three times a week, and have the care of the city upon me in my capacity of an alderman. My nephew was at first unwilling to accept the combat, but upon my promising to leave him the Journal after my death, and making him take two spoonfuls of his own *Elixir Vitæ*, he at last consented. This medicine is only imported by him, and is excellent for preventing accidents by sudden death and megrims: It also cureth all mortal wounds, by gun-shot and other missive weapons.

New light on ev'ry art you strike,
 And matchless shine in all alike;
 For who can tell if most you're skill'd in
 The pen, the plough, the sword, or building?
 A puny author may disclose
 Some skill in rhyme, but none in prose;
 In prose another shews his wit,
 Who can't a single stanza hit:
 Your foes unwillingly confess,
 In both you equal skill possess (a).

On.

(a) *In both you equal skill possess.*]—This, I conceive alludeth to the following under-written letter of Mr. Howard's, from Killarney, with the signature of PUBLICOLA, with a description, and likewise a comparison of the Giants Causeway, whereunto he subjoined an inscription for the tomb-stone of Dr. Averel, bishop of Limerick, and uncle to the right hon. Francis Andrews, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, that representeth the loyal city of Londonderry in parliament:—N. B. That Killarney is a small village of that name in the county of Kerry. It is a market-town, but doth not send two members to parliament, as most other boroughs do. It is part of the estate of Lord Viscount Kenmare, who hath forfeited his title, he being a Catholic nobleman, although very hospitable, and keepeth a most plentiful table, furnished with all the varieties the season affords. I also had the honour to dine with him when I journeyed into these parts, to see the beauties of this wonderful lake.

On a *true* mirrour's polish'd face,
All objects thus we plainly trace,

But

To the Printer of the DUBLIN MERCURY.

S I R,

Killarney, Sept, 26th 1771.

I have at length seen what I have long wished to see, this wonderous lake. To attempt to describe it would require the ablest pen of the ancient poets, or, of modern poets, the famous painter of Killarney, wherefore, I shall never attempt it:—yet notwithstanding all the beauties of the lake, I cannot think it, as a curiosity, equal to the Giants Causeway; I have seen both. I never saw any thing LIKE the first, nor any thing EQUAL to the latter; this distinction is agreed to by all I have mentioned it to. But alas! this lake has been the death of a man, for whom the whole province here is in tears, the late bishop of Limerick, Dr. Averel, our countryman:—To sum up all shortly as I can, I heard the people of Limerick, (where I was shortly after his death) say, that there has not been such a bishop since the time of the apostles; that the Romish clergy said, they should not wonder, had he lived any time, if they had lost many of their flocks.—What obligations then are due to our Lord Lieutenant, for having appointed such a man their pastor; for though Heaven has pleased to take him away, his successors will hear so much of him, that he cannot but endeavour to intimate him. I heard this acknowledged by several, as also for his concurrence in appointing that well known friend to his country,

and

But if in spots the MERCURY lie,
A broken image meets the eye.

O Howard !

and their city, especially, speaker: from these and many other like instances of his impartial conduct, it is wished that we may never lose him,——and every day the advantage of a resident Vice-roy becomes more and more manifest; that from this new mode of government, there is far more likelihood that merit will be rewarded, proper persons appointed to offices, and the laws supported and executed. A gentleman of our city happening to be at Limerick, shortly after the interment of the bishop, and hearing the prodigious great character of him from all persons, wrote the following lines, extempore, as an inscription for a monument.

POBLICOLA.

Beneath this marble stone weep, mankind weep,
Averel, your friend, lies wrapp'd in endless sleep;
Who, for the poor alone, did fortune crave,
And deem'd himself but rich in that he gave;
From whom, the pray'r of want, or plaint of woe
Ne'er did unpitied, or unhappy go.
His mournful flock to their bless'd pastor's praise,
With greatful heart this parting tribute pays.

Before our quarrel, Howard wrote the following Epitaph on me, which had we continued friends, I should not have been sorry to see put upon my tomb-stone, which I now accordingly publish, that my friends may see what an opinion Howard once entertained of me.

O Howard ! is it not surprizing,
 Your wit alone should stop your rising !
 Else on the bench you might be thrust,
 Tho' slow as snail, that crawls thro' dust ;
 By self-conceit you might advance,
 As quicksilver makes puddings dance (b).
 From men of sense fools win the day,
 As horses fly, when asses bray.

An Epitaph on GEORGE FAULKNER.

Beneath this Stone lyes set
 An Earthly Light,
 GEORGE FAULKNER.

To tell you what he was
 Would be to tell the World
 There was a Sun and Moon.

Oh then
 But from this Star
 Such Rays divine diverg'd,
 Hospitality, Friendship, Love,
 That all who saw, admir'd.
 Can more be said ?
 If ought,
 Say it who can.

(b) *As quicksilver makes puddings dance.*]—Nothing is more entertaining to a large company, than to see a pudding vibrating, shaking, moving, and dancing upon the dish, by means of quicksilver inserted into the body of it.

O sons of dulness ! bless'd by fate !
 Fittest for law, for church, and state ;
 Your parents influence prevails,
 And gives her dunces—mitres—*seals* :
 A Tisdall's depth (c), a Townshend's wit,
 Is not for plodding business fit :
 An Eagle's wings were form'd for flight.
 A Goose's furnish quills—to write.

I'd also sing, if I were able,
 Your genrous wine, and festive table ;
 Where all those wits in crowds assemble,
 Who make the vile Committee tremble ;
 There, Donough's humour mirth provokes (d),
 While all admire his *Attic* jokes (e),

Tho'

(c) *A Tisdall's depth.*]—The right hon. Philip Tisdall, Attorney-general.

(d) *There Donough's humour mirth provokes.*]—The rev. Doctor Dennis, chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; author of many ingenious pieces.

(e) *While all admire his Attic jokes.*]—The people of Attica were remarkable for the goodness of their jokes, and for having the best salt for preserving meat for foreign importation; by which means they undersold all their neighbours in the article of salt provisions. I hope this may be ac-

Tho' oft to prove his taste the best,
 He laughs alone at his own jest :
 Then boasts how once his patron rose,
 And told the story of THREE CROWS ;
 Which he'll insert, with meet apology,
 In his new System of Chronology (*f*) ;
 And after mending Newton's errors (*g*),
 St. Audeon's-Arch he'll fill with terrors.
 The Castle tribe aloud confess (*h*)
 Him great Alcides of the press,
 Like that immortal hero known,
 For fathering labours *not his own*.

timely warning to this poor, undone, infatuated country—Attica was called the Corke of Greece.

(*f*) *In his new System of Chronology.*]—Doctor Dennis is at present engaged in digesting a new system of Chronology, under the title of Chronological and Historical Dissertations ; which I shall be glad to print and sell at my shop in Parliament-street.

(*g*) *And after mending Newton's errors.*]—Sir Isaac Newton. He was made a knight by Queen Anne, and master of the mint, a place worth 1000*l.* yearly. He was reckoned a good mathematician, and was very fond of looking through spy glasses.

(*h*) *The Castle tribe aloud confess.*]—This alludeth to the Doctor's being the supposed author of all the political pieces which appear in the Mercury.

B—w—s, in epigram so smart (*i*),
 'Till griping H—rt—d broke his heart (*k*),
 Now

(*i*) The Reverend Doctor Lewis Burrows, Curate of St. Thomas's Dublin. He was bred a Sizer or Servitor, in the College of Dublin, and distinguished himself very much by his early disposition to write verses, which appeared by his inscribing epigrams on most of the Fellows trenchers, which he had an opportunity of handling after they had dined thereon. When he was too much hurried to conclude an epigram, which happened sometimes by the variety of his occupation, in taking away the cloth, knives, spoons, forks and other eatables, he always filled up what was wanting in verse by the figure of a goose, a gander, or gosling, or some other emblematic type or shadow, expressive of his disposition for satire. Being very poor and having no livelihood, he advertised himself as a private tutor, to instruct youth in morality, religion, geography, law, physic, natural philosophy, botany and the globes, at ten pounds per annum. Being taken into a gentleman's family on these terms, he was much captivated by the beauty of a young lady who was sister to his pupil, and by the comeliness of his person, being a sleek man, and remarkably polite in his cloathing, he made such a way in this young lady's affections, whose fortune was in her own power, that he soon made a conquest of her person; but being also a man of great prudence, in which he was certainly very commendable, he left her to make the best of her own folly, thereby conveying

C 6

a very

Now deals in Hebrew roots profound,
And only treads prophetic ground ;

Jerus'lem

a very useful lesson to all frail young women, and which he has often said he hopes (being the sole reason of his doing it) will be a timely warning to prevent other ladies from falling into such snares. He afterwards was preferred to a small living in the diocese of Derry, where he carried on the Protestant religion with so much zeal against Papists, especially of the church of Scotland, that he suffered divers persecutions in consequence thereof, which he bore with the true meekness of a Christian clergyman, being often kicked, cudgelled, bruised, tweaked by the nose, and otherwise insulted, which he bore with great humility and patience. Hearing a great character of the Earl of Hertford's administration, as remarkable for facts, homilies, penitence and true religion, he proposed himself to his Excellency to write epigrams, to support him against Mr. Flood, Brownlow, &c. who were seldom seen at church, which he did with great spirit and success, calling them geese, ganders, gossings, asses, and other opprobrious fowl and birds, in the *Mercury*. He was so persecuted for his witty allusions, that he found it necessary to publish an advertisement in my *Journal*, April 24, 1770, swearing thereby on the faith of a Christian clergyman, that he had no concern, and never was the author of any production in said paper, and much blaming the printer Hoey, and another gentleman, for discovering that the letter X in said paper, was his property,

Jerus'lem artichoke supplies,
Those visions that made Daniel wise.

The

property, and that he was the author of many productions therein, which base conduct on their parts he resented so highly in this impudent indecent manner, proving a Christian clergyman a liar to the ruin of his character, and the great scandal of his holy function, that it determined him to write in the Freeman's Journal without the letter X, and as seldom as possible to mention ganders, geese, and goslings. Soon after he went into the North, where he was taken into the confidence of a gentleman of great sense and fortune, who had near lost his understanding by age and infirmities, and by the many spiritual comforts he administered to him, pretending to be a good Jacobite, and an old Tory; in that condition he prevailed on him to suppress all ties of blood and alliance, and bequeath his fortune to a stranger, instead of three very deserving daughters and their issue, who were disinherited. The Doctor's true reason for this was not to make himself necessary to the heir for the sake of the legacy which was left him, but for the honour of the church, shewing it is necessary to pay them respect in all families, and that though a Christian clergyman may be tweaked by the nose, kicked, cuffed, and buffeted, yet the church shall abide, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. He hath the happy art of persuading old ladies who do not think of their souls till they are in the other world, to leave legacies in his hands for the poor, which
he

The Doctor proves to all the nation,
 No myst'ry's couch'd in Revelation,
 'Till every gossip can explain,
 What sage divines explore in vain.

No

he applieth to the best purposes, making himself and family, otherwise poor and distressed, in a comfortable way thereby, until he is called upon in a public manner, to the scandal of the church, when he produceth receipts signed after the complaints from which his exemplary life and conduct as heretofore mentioned, taketh away all colour. His great genius for poetry, has not only appeared in his preaching a sermon on the finest text in Exodus, chap. xxxii. v. 23. on Christmas-day, "I will take away mine hand and thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen;" but also by writing birth-day odes, in the manner of Mr. Victor, at the moderate price of half a guinea, poetry and stationery ware included. He hath a peculiar faculty for witty epigrams: I have selected a few as a specimen of the Doctor's abilities:

What! sweet Miss Meredith of Chester,
 Espous'd to Alderman Trecothic!
 That stupid cit—but what possess'd her,
 To chuse an animal so Gothic:

Some demon sure her mind misled,
 To make a choice so void of reason;
 Else what could tempt the girl to wed,
 A wretch who soon must swing for treason.

X.

No juggler ever play'd such tricks,
 As he with John's seven candlesticks,
 By whose mysterious lights are spy'd,
 Wicklow's Seven Churches typi'd.

Next

Batchelor Vol. i. Page 62.

A goose in the oven! no, sir, 'tis a slander,
 As some, who discover'd the fact can declare,
 For it was not a *goose*, but you a poor *gander*,
 (As fools will be peeping) who thrust your head
 there. X.

Batchelor No. 25, Vol. i. Page 105.

The great Doctor Phlogos has published an order
 That Counsellor Goslin shall be our Recorder. X.

An Epigram on reading the above.

We're threatned by Phlogos with an action of
 slander,
 For calling his fav'rite the son of a Gander;
 In answer to which we shall plead no excuse,
 But shew that the Doctor himself is a Goose:
 So he and the Goslin, as birds of a feather,
 May both, when they please, bring their actions
 together. X.

Another punishment proposed for the Gander.

Heigh ho! that wicked bird produce
 The Gander that defamed the Goose. X.

Another

Next maudlin B——ke (*l*), whose novels
please,

Like some old dotard's reveries,
Without beginning, middle, ending,
To *utile* or *dulce* tending,

With

Another Epigram.

How shall we use the wicked Gander,
That goes about retailing slander?
Why, since in scandal he delights,
Let him read all that Phlogos writes. X.

(*k*) *'Till griping H—rt—d broke his heart.]—*Some of my most familiar and intimate critics and geniuses is of opinion, that the poet meaneth griping Hertford, and that it ought therefore to be spelled with a double pp. But I candidly and totally differ from them, and prosecute my own opinion, in maintaining that it implieth, that his Excellency the said earl of Hertford, was grievously afflicted with various disorders of the gripes, brought upon him by windy flatulencies, mortal dry belly-achs, and other pinching sicknesses of the guts, during the time he presided over the chief government of this his native country; and that this was the whole tote of his case is notoriously known to every human creature, man, woman, or children, whether in the Castle, in the city, or the suburbs of Dublin.

(*l*) *Next maudlin B—ke, &c.]—*Henry Brooke, Esq. an excellent poet, philosopher, and patriot. He hath for some time retired to his country seat in the Bog of Allen, where he is carrying on great improve-

With equal art, his genius pliant
Can drain a bog, or *quell a giant*.
Whilst one hand wounds each venal brother,
He for a bribe extends the other.
Your character's worth just so much,
As you afford, and he can touch :
With ev'ry virtue he abounds,
Who tips the patriot fifty pounds ;

Gold

improvements, in laying the country under water, and searching for hidden treasures in the bottom of lakes, ponds, marshes, sloughs, and other navigable rivers. He published a famous Novel, called, *The Fool of Quality*, which is sold in separate volumes, or together, at my shop in Parliament-street. There is so much variety in this piece, that the best judges agree, 'tis indifferent at what part you begin to read it, being beautifully interspersed with stories of beggars, trouts, foreign birds, and Indian princesses. The earl of Chesterfield, as a proof of his esteem for his fine talents, made him a barrack-master. He is a true friend to the religion of his country, and hath written many excellent tracts in defence of Popery and the Protestant persuasion. He wrote a ballad opera, called, *Jack the Giant Queller*, being a satire upon the Lords Justices of Ireland, which was accordingly forbid to be represented. The excellent tragedy of *Gustavus* was also stopped for the same reason, by the Lord Chamberlain, being a noble incitement to sedition, in the cause of liberty. He

Gold works strange wonders in his eyes,
 Makes cowards brave, and dunces wise.
 Like Swift, his hireling muse engages,
 On any side that pays best wages ;
 One while staunch friend to Martin Luther(m),
 He finds pure light and gospel truth there ;
 Then

was at first the conductor of the Free Press, which trust he executed with great integrity, taking divers sums of money from several public officers, to prevent their being satirized in said Journal ; which he did with great integrity. This Journal is not so universally circulated and admired as mine, because it containeth not such a variety of interesting particulars, intelligence from foreign courts, the Transit of Venus, high-water at Dublin-bar, affize of bread, sailing and return of packets, births, deaths, and marriages ; not to mention curious queries, and ingenious paragraphs.

(m) *One while staunch friend to Martin Luther.*]—A Roman Catholic Clergyman, esteemed a good Preacher. He understood Italian, French and other languages. He quarrelled with the Pope of Rome about Transubstantiation and other church ceremonies. Henry the VIIIth offered him the united bishopricks of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in the county of Galway, which he politely refused, and published a virulent libel against said King. Said King replied with much wit and humour, for which the Pope presented him a fine Provence Rose for a Nosegay, and called him Defender of the Faith, and so forth.—Nicholas Luther,

Then thro' the realm makes proclamation,
For Pop'ry, Priests, and Toleration.
He first with many a fair pretence,
To public spirit, truth, and sense,
Hatch'd that disgrace to law and reason,
That mass of slander, dullness, treason ;
That Journal which the Arch produces (n),
For singeing fowl, or viler uses.

ther, who liveth at the sign of the Mitre and Punch Bowl, in Martin's-lane, is descended from said Martin Luther.

(n) *That Journal which the Arch produces*.]—The Freeman's Journal is printed at St. Audeon's-Arch, in Old Bridge-street, Dublin, where, contrary to law, there is no printer, nor any other person who answereth questions, but an old woman who is dumb. The following anecdote happened once to the printer hereof. A gentleman came to his shop whom he had put amongst the deaths in his Journal the day before, and was much enraged to find himself dead, as it occasioned some confusion by those who were in his debt coming to demand what was due to them, whereupon the author hereof acted in this manner, Sir, said I, 'tis impossible for me to tell whether you be alive or dead, but I'm sure I gave you a very good character in my Journal. The gentleman was so pleased with the repartee, that he laid out thirteen shillings and four-pence half penny before he left my former shop in Essex-street.

How chang'd from him whose noble rage,
 Brought great Gustavus to the stage,
 And rous'd the Patriot's God-like fire,
 In strains which Stanhope might admire !
 Now Metjus' fate and his are one,
 By all he's torn, that's true to none.

MACRO, with college dust besprent (o),
 There mingles to give malice vent,
 With various tongues thick set as Fame,
 And ev'ry tongue dispos'd to blame.
 In studious Macro may be seen,
 The copious Polyglot of spleen :
 He searches old and modern lore,
 To learn to hate his neighbour more ;
 Fond of men's follies and their vices,
 As beggar of his sores and lice is ;
 With eyes like fox, and mouth like shark,
 That seems less form'd to speak than bark :
 Let others while their bowls they quaff,
 Distend their lungs with heart-felt laugh ;

In

(o) MACRO, *with college dust besprent.*] — We have not been able to discover whom the author intendeth to describe in these verses : but some ingenious friends conjecture that it is some rev. gentleman, who understandeth many languages, and keepeth a play-house Miss.

In short shrill shrieks of fiend-like glee,
 He proves his risibility.
 His knowledge, like a treacherous beacon,
 Holds out false lights to the mistaken,
 And when they wander from their way,
 Humanely leads them more astray.
 Yet Macro, whose peculiar pride
 Is to expose a friend's blind side,
 Can to more glaring folly stoop :
 Himself a bankrupt *player's* dupe.

There bashful B——n once was seen,
 Mistaking dullness for the spleen ;
 Who says, unsays, agrees, disputes,
 And his own arguments confutes.
 How eloquent in shrugs and sighs !
 In uplift hands, and winking eyes !
 What supplication, what contortions !
 His words half form'd, his thoughts abortions !
 Such wriggling, grasping, pawing, leering,
 You know not if its praise, or sneering.
 Such sudden stops, and circumflections ;
 Such prefacings, and interjections,
 With “ Ah, good Heaven !” and “ Oh, my
 “ God, sir !
 “ I'm wrong, I own, I kiss the rod, sir ;
 “ There's weight and sense in all you utter.”
 —Mere prologues to an egg and butter ;

That

That did not pudding sleeves declare him,
 Some antic Scaramouch you'd swear him.
 Yet underneath that form uncouth,
 Dwell learning, piety, and truth ;
 And no distortion can they find,
 Who view him only in his mind.

But oh, what power more dull than sleep,
 Does o'er my torpid senses creep ?
 Does Morpheus shed his poppies round ?
 Do fresh-pluck'd cowslips strew the ground ?
 Do harps Æolian lull my ear ?
 Are drones of Scottish bagpipes near ?
 Do beetles wind their drowsy horn ?
 Are gales from swampy Holland born ?
 In vain with snuff my nose I ply,
 In vain the power of salts I try,
 I yawn—I nod—for Cl—ke is nigh (p).

}
 Let

(p) *I yawn—I nod—for Cl—ke is nigh.*]—The rev. Dr. Cl—ke, Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. He hath a very fine taste for poetry, which plainly appeareth by the specimen annexed to this piece, as it was first published.

On a Lady's forgetting her Riding Hat. Written by the rev. Dr. CL—KE, when Vice-Provost of Trinity College.

I.

Fair Anna had no heart to give,
 So left her head behind ;
 Bright MINA on whose smiles I live,
 Was not by half so kind.

Let mists and fogs invest my head,
 Let all the fathers pen'd be read,
 Bid B——nt recite his speech (*q*),
 F——ns plead, or Garnet preach (*r*);

Set

II.

Both head and heart she with her brought,
 And both she took away,
 And with her carried all she caught,
 'THAT's all THAT gaz'd THAT day.

III.

Ye nymphs that o'er nine wells preside,
 Instruct the willing fair,
 To give their hearts, whate'er betide,
 And hands when they come here.

IV.

So when we see St. John's great eve,
 The fires that round do move,
 Shall each instruct us to receive
 A hand and heart that glow with love.

(*q*) *Bid B——nt recite his speech.*]—The earl of B——t, Knight of the Bath; famous for his eloquence and personal accomplishments.

(*r*) *F——ns plead, or Garnet preach.*]—Counsellor John F——s.—Doctor Garnet, Bishop of Clogher. He wrote an excellent Paraphrase on the Book of Job.—The whole edition may be found at my shop in Parliament-street.

Set mayor and aldermen before me,
 Bid everlasting C—ll bore me,
 Tell o'er again a thrice-told tale,
 Drench me with Port or ropy ale,
 Be opium mingled with my drink,
 My hands shan't fold, nor eye-lids wink.
 But these vain boasts avail not now,
 More pond'rous Cl—ke to thee I bow.
 When wilt thou ease the groaning town,
 Thou old cast troop-horse of the gown?
 What hast thou with the world to do,
 Or what the world to say to you?
 Thou can'st not now in amorous glee,
 Write madrigals to *fifty-three* (s);

And

(s) *Write madrigals to fifty-three.*] — Various are the conjectures of the learned on this passage. Mr. Kavanagh is of opinion, that it alludeth unto the political disputes which raged in the year fifty-three; in which the Doctor may be supposed to have wrote madrigals, to appease the minds of the people. My nephew Todd inclineth to believe, that something is intended which he can't discover. For my own part, I opine, that it only referreth to the age of the lady, who had attained her fifty-third year. It certainly is not very genteel to ridicule this passion, which is properly called all-powerful, to shew that it spareth neither age nor condition, station nor dignity; not to mention the example of Anacreon, who was choaked with a grape-

And frisk in rhymes to please the dame,
Which Christmas bell-man would disclaim;
Nor can'st thou now in fulsome strain,
Pen Jacobite address again;

And

grape-stone, drinking the health of his mistress at the age of fourscore: I am myself this instant, a captive to the charms of a lady who has passed her grand climacteric, and have addressed many sonnets to her, in a style no less tender than the Doctor's, one of which, the most admired by my friends, I have selected, and venture to publish, as a proof of my passion, and a specimen of my poetical endowments.

To the Widow ———, on her taking a Vomit of Ipecacuanha.

I.

Soft relict, whose enchanting charms,
My captive heart enthrall;
Whose frown congeals, whose kindness warms,
Like honey mix'd with gall.

II.

Say, when the nauseous draught you take,
On Faulkner will you think;
And for thy own dear lover's sake,
His health in vomit drink.

III.

Discharge, bright maid, the foul contents,
That now your stomach bind;
But oh! be sure, at all events;
Leave Love and George behind.

And scandalizing Alma Mater (o),
 Of right divine in monarchs chatter;
 Nor can'st thou, on extortion bent,
 Raise insurrections and thy rent (p).
 Then buzz no more, thou reverend drone,
 But to thy kindred earth begone.

IV.

So when in sieve, well pierc'd with holes,
 Where dregs of fire do rest,
 With shaking nought remains but coals,
 To warm the riddler's breast.

(o) *And scandalizing Alma Mater.*]—Mater, as may be found in Littleton's Dictionary, is Latin for Mother. My nephew Todd is of opinion, that the Doctor must have had some quarrel with his mother: for my own part, how unwilling soever I may be to find fault with my author, I cannot but agree with Mr. Kavanagh, and other ingenious friends, that it were better not to divulge family brangles.

(p) *Raise insurrections and thy rent.*]—This relateth to a recent fact which passed about ten years ago in the North of Ireland. The doctor being unwilling, (for the benefit of the incumbent who was to succeed him,) that his living should be let at an under value, insisted with his parishioners, who offered him twelve hundred yearly, to be paid fourteen; which they thinking unreasonable went to law, and reduced it to the sum of 700l. This was the first beginning of the insurrection called the Oak-Boys in the North of Ireland.

What

What figure next confounds my sight,
An Austrian Count, an Irish Knight (q)!

With

(q) *An Irish Knight.*]—There are several sorts of Knights. Knights of Malta, Knights of the Garter, the Bath, and Thistle, Knights of the Post, poor Knights of Windsor, Baronets and Batchelors, and the Knight of Kerry. The author hereof was offered to be knighted in the field, by the earl of Chesterfield in the Castle: but considering that said honour was to be conferred by the posture of kneeling, which is impossible to the author hereof, by reason of his member, which he accordingly refused to accept, making divers acknowledgments for declining said honour. This objection was near being removed by the ingenuity of my worthy friend a Sixth Clerk, who besides his being a great scholar and critic, is also a most excellent mechanic, and contrived a leg of cork, with a spring joint in the knee, and turning out its toes as naturally as one made of flesh and blood, and in this leg I practised the posture of knighthood by genuflexion, my friend holding a drawn sword over my shoulder, but being too quick at the third rehearsal, in attempting to get up, after said friend had pronounced the words “Rise up Sir George,” I unfortunately snapped the spring, and fell on my chin to the ground, so as to be much bruised, and would have been sore, but for the use of a salve, which is sold by my nephew Todd, for bruises, maims, contusions, dislocations and other scratches, in Parliament-street. When the above leg is repaired, I propose accept-

With doleful phiz prefaging wonder,
 Much German pride and Irish blunder (r)³
 Which patriots, courtiers, still exposes,
 Mistaking both their wit and noses (s).

No

ing the order in it, which I am told his Excellency the Lord Viscount Townshend is willing to confer upon me in the same manner as the earl of Chesterfield.

(r) *Much German pride and Irish blunder.*]—The Germans are supposed in general to be a proud people: Julius Cæsar, and Mr Nugent, give them this character. The Irish are very unjustly charged for a particular talent in blundering; but it is well known, that no people express themselves in their native tongue, the English, with more perspicuity and precision. The dean of St. Patrick's, who tho' born and bred in Ireland, always declared himself, when sober, to be an Englishman. It will not, I hope, be considered as presumption, that I add the authority of my Journal, which is considered as a standard of our language; whereas I have always consulted the particular property of diction, and may be bold to challenge any author now extant, for such a variety of tracts, written in so unblemished a purity, without any abbreviation of terminations, and abounding in the best chosen epithets.

(s) *Mistaking both their wit and noses.*]—This hereby referreth to the knight's putting the speech of one member of parliament into the mouth of another by mistake, which was not fair play; and likewise

No brain but his cou'd e'er contain
 Stories so vapid, old, and vain ;
 So Plutarch tells of poison cold,
 Which ass's hoof alone can hold.
 Humour and mirth no more are found,
 For C——ll casts a gloom around.
 Lethargic dullness loads each eye,
 Ev'n dunces please, when C——ll's by !
 Thus, sunshine, sparks from flint conceals,
 Which darkness of the night reveals.
 In Pliny's learned page it's found (s),
 That lightning cannot sea-calves wound (t) ;
 Congenial

likewise alludeth to the old custom of formerly reckoning members of parliament in voting, by their noses ; but as this occasioned divers mistakes, when the tellers were not sharp-sighted enough, and could not see those members that had small or no noses, and sometimes reckoned those that had large ones for two, it was therefore abolished, and members are now counted by their bodies, which is generally larger, and preventeth all confusion.—A particular act of parliament was made in favour of the nose, called, The Coventry-act, to prevent its being cut off, and other accidents with impunity.—The famous Mr. Quin, the comedian, with whom I was likewise acquainted, advised a friend who was subject to be pulled by the nose, to soap it, whereby it might escape and slip through the fingers, this not being forbid in the Coventry-act.

Congenial is the dunce's matter,
 Callous to wit and pointed satire.
 Unsatisfy'd with nonsense said,
 He's now resolv'd to read us dead,
 With pamphlets nauseating he'll puke us,
 On Lord May'r's feasts and Doctor Lucas (u).
 He

(s) *In Pliny's learned page, &c.*—Pliny wrote many books, and was killed by Mount Vesuvius falling upon his head, though he always wore a pillow fastened to the top of his wig, to save him from that accident.

(t) *That lightning cannot sea-calves wound.*—An animal that seldom appeareth on our sea-coasts, unless to fishermen in the main ocean.

(u) *On Lord May'r's feasts and Doctor Lucas.*—A very remarkable apothecary, and member of parliament. He lived on Ormond-quay, in Dublin, at the sign of Boyle's-Head, who was a famous druggist. He was banished from Ireland by a vote of the House of Commons, which confined him to Newgate. He returned to his native country by the special mercy of his Majesty, whom he hath always continued to oppose (for his good) in two parliaments, where he representeth the city of Dublin. This gentleman unfortunately died between the different editions of this work, which prevented that accident being mentioned at first. Being one of his constituents, and having a scarf at his funeral, riding in my chariot, which I borrowed from one of the sheriffs, when the greatest peers and patriots walked on foot, I thought it

He sings of beggars blind and dark,
 Like some old snuffling parish clerk:
 For stanzas vile he racks his brain,
 And vainly mimicks Howard's strain!

He

it my duty to celebrate his memory by the following pastoral Dirge, which I sent to the Freeman's Journal, of Saturday Nov. 9th, 1771, which I knew it would please the Doctor to have inserted in his favourite paper, under the title of Corydon. — The reader will observe that I have taken notice of the miserable, distressed, distracted symptoms in which the Doctor has left the kingdom in general, no cocks crowing night or morning, nor violets or primroses blowing in our pleasure gardens, the Doctor having died when King William was born, it being the fourth of November, 1771.

Sacred to the Memory of Doctor CHARLES LUCAS.

I.

Come every Nymph and every Swain,
 Ev'ry Dryad of the Plain,
 Ye Naiads from your Streams emerge
 Join me in the mournful Dirge.

II.

Tune your reeds to solemn sound,
 With cypress strew the hallow'd ground,
 For ah! your faithful Corydon
 'To the Elysian field is gone.

He writes, he hobbles, bows, and leers,
 To gain a feat among the peers ;
 And ev'ry abject art he tries,
 To prove he's qualify'd to rise.

III.

See the primrose droops it's head
 The violets fade, the daisy's dead ;
 Each flow'r in sorrow dies away,
 The kids and lambkins cease to play.

IV.

The tuneful race in every grove
 Neglect their song, neglect their love.
 The village cock forgets to crow,
 And grief sits perch'd on every brow.

V.

Hark the solemn tolling bell,
 Rings his last, his funeral knell :
 See the weeping train approach,
 The black plum'd hearse and sable coach.

VI.

Lo Ierne by his side
 Fainting mourns her greatest pride,
 Sighing o'er his dear remains,
 Her beauteous cheek with sorrow stains !

VII.

Tune your reeds to solemn sound,
 With myrtle strew the hallow'd ground,
 For ah ! your faithful Corydon
 To the Elysian shades is gone.

With

With panegyric he bespatters,
 Degrading him he meanly flatters.
 Ah! purblind knight! thy arts misplac'd,
 Think better of a Townshend's taste:
 Fools only will such praise assume,
 As Hottentots think grease—perfume.
 Mark with what ease his brain creates
Speeches ne'er spoke, miscall'd Debates,
 'Till at the goddess Dulness' summons,
 He makes one C——ll of the commons (v).
 Thou, Hutchinson (w), whom every muse
 With winning grace and art endues,
 Whose power 'gainst prejudice contends,
 And proves that law and wit are friends,

(v) *He makes one C——ll of the commons.*]——
 Doubts having arisen how the deficient vowels are to be filled up, I consulted several friends: my nephew Todd imagineth it meaneth caudle, a liquor drank by lying-in ladies, as it is composed of several mixtures: (I think it best when it is strong of the white-wine.) Mr. Croker very ingeniously hinteth, he makes one *cartfull* of the commons; that is, the commons all move together in the same machine. I think, with submission to better judgments, that the word *dungbill* removeth all difficulties, and corresponds exactly with the author's meaning, and with every thing but the text.

(w) Right Hon John Hely Hutchinson, Prime Serjeant and Member for the city of Corke.

In that promiscuous page alone
 By letters J. H. H. art known.
 In thee Malone (x), the nation's boast,
 Precision, law, and sense are lost.
 Andrews (y), who knows, with various skill,
 To rule the passions at his will,
 Who like a wise musician seizes
 The tone which best his audience pleases,
 Wonders to find VIVALDI sunk
 To a vile scraper, blind and drunk.
 How oft on polish'd Osborne's. (z) tongue
 Pleas'd the attentive Senate hung?
 While parties emulously strove
 Which most should praise, what all approve.
 Now view him in thy faithless strain,
 Pert, peevish, and perplexed as M——ne (a).

(x) Right Hon Anthony Malone, Member for the county of Westmeath.

(y) Right Hon. Francis Andrews, Provost of Trinity-college, and Member for Londonderry.

(z) Right Hon. Sir William Osborne, Bart, one of the commissioners of the Revenue, and Member for the borough of Dungarvan.

(a) Sir William M——e, Bart. lately a Privy-Counsellor, and at present Member for Carysfort. He is supposed to understand hand-writing and accounts as well as any book-keeper in Meath-street; he is very fond of cyphering and arithmetic, and every day wanteth to know more of them.

Gisborne

Gisborne (*b*) who says—just what he ought,
 Who weighs, condenses every thought,
 Whose logic, faction can controul,
 And strike conviction to the soul;
 With energy no longer pleases,
 But worse than babbling Cr—m—r teazes (*c*).
 Think, false retailer, how each sprite,
 Will haunt thy slumbers every night,
 While these dread sounds invade thine ear,
 And chill thy conscious soul with fear.

“ Where’s Pery’s (*d*) deep ironic sense ?

“ Where Flood’s (*e*) impetuous eloquence ?

“ Where witty Harward’s (*f*) well-timed jest ?

“ In thy cold tale so ill express’d ?

“ Where

(*b*) Major General James Gisborne, Member for Lismore.

(*c*) John Cramer, Esq. Member for the borough of Belturbet, and seventh cousin to the E——l of L——s——h.

(*d*) Right Hon. Edmond Sexton Pery, Speaker of the house of Commons, and Member for the City of Limerick.

(*e*) Henry Flood, Esq. Member for the borough of Callan.

(*f*) The late Counsellor William Harward, Member for the borough of Lanesborough, he was remarkable for wit and humour, and told many pleasant stories and sprightly bon mots, viz. seeing once an officer of the Light Infantry who was very

“ Where Langrishe (*g*), French (*h*), and
 “ Brownlow (*i*), gone ?

“ Where the bright flame of Hamilton (*k*) ?

“ Dull Chemist !—all exhal’d and fled !”

—Thy caput mortuum in their stead.—

But whither, Clio, wou’dst thou rove,
 Fond they descriptive pow’r to prove ?

little, with a large plume of feathers in his cap, (said the counsellor) “ If he had but a cork in his
 “ tail one might make a shittle-cock of him :” and
 at another time meeting a young ‘Squire who was
 just returned from abroad, and very conceited,
 “ He is” (said the Counsellor) “ something like
 “ my grey circuiteering horse, the worse for tra-
 “ velling.” These bon mots my friends tell me,
 are not to be compared with some of my own, viz.
 what I said to the gentleman who was angry at
 being killed by my Journal, which will be seen
 farther on in these annotations ; also to the Earl of
 Chesterfield, on said Earl’s complaining that the
 letter and paper of my Journal were not of dif-
 ferent colours, with many others too tedious to
 insert.

(*g*) Hercules Langrishe, Esq. Member for the
 borough of Knocktopher.

(*h*) Robert French, Esq. Member for the town
 of Galway.

(*i*) Right Hon. William Brownlow, Member
 for the county of Armagh.

(*k*) Right Hon. William Gerard Hamilton, Esq.
 Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Member for
 Killybegs, in the late parliament.

Resume the theme, resign'd too long,
 Let Howard's praise conclude the song.
 Mæcenæus puff'd by ev'ry quill (l),
 Sits highest on the three-fork'd hill :
 And lives for ever by the praise
 In Horace's and Virgil's lays (m),

Yet

(l) *Mæcenæus puff'd by ev'ry quill.*]—Caius Clinus Mæcenæus a great lover of learning, and learned men. For his history, and that of the Emperor Augustus, and the whole policy of his reign, see Littleton's Dictionary.

(m) *In Horace's and Virgil's lays.*]—They are both to be had, from the hours of eight in the morning till twelve at night, at my shop in Parliament-street.

I have now gone through the several passages of this admired poem, which I thought required any illustration or comment, and the reader will judge how far I am qualified for the duty of a commentator ; though the success I have already met with in that capacity, leaveth me little room to doubt of the public indulgence. It would be ungrateful, did I not take this public opportunity of returning my thanks to the many learned friends who have favoured me with their assistance in this arduous undertaking : they are such a catalogue of names as would do honour to the greatest wits of antiquity ; and the man who can boast of the friendship of Mr. Dean, sixth-clerk ; Mr. Dexter, keeper of the Four-Courts Marshalsea ; Mess. Kavanagh and Croker, attorneys at law ; Mr. Thomas Mullock, notary-public, in Skinner-row ;
 and

Yet not one stanza of his own
Has made the poet's patron known.
While Howard to unborrow'd fame,
By his own works asserts his claim :
Then let a double wreath reward
The muse's patron and their bard.

and alderman Emerson, of the Spinning-wheel, Castle-street ; need not be ashamed of putting his name to any work, in which they have been his coadjutors. My nephew, Thomas Todd, has been so often mentioned in these notes, that 'tis unnecessary to say any thing in his praise, farther, than that he is an acute critic, a great traveller, and I have always found him very faithful and diligent in his duty, as my foreman. To him, therefore, this work is inscribed by

His sincere friend, and paternal uncle,

GEORGE FAULKNER.

NUMBER XLVII.

Tunc omnia venia.

SALLUST.

The SALE of the PATRIOTS: A DIALOGUE. In imitation of Lucian's AUCTION of PHILOSOPHERS.

Jupiter.

COME, Mr. Mercury, since there is a change in administration, produce the patriots, and sell them to the highest bidder: Lord Sancho under-rated them, and did not think them worth his money.

Mercury. I have been laughing at the rogues these five years, and exposing all their vicious qualities; the public have now such a contemptible opinion of them, that there will be few purchasers: however, I'll try. Come, gentlemen, who bids for these honest, worthy, virtuous senators, descended from the patriots of *fifty-three*, and of the same principles?—The first I present is the most high, most mighty, and puissant D— of L—. I set him up at five guineas—Don't mind his looks, he has not seen sun or moon these seven years,
(except

(except at Lord Valentia's trial, and then he did not stay to give his vote.)—He would bring in more money than the elephant, if he were shewn for an Ægyptian mummy. Who bids for the great CRUM-A-BOO, and the head of the F——s? —If any of the corporation of Taylors purchase him, they shall have the M——s into the bargain. —I wish Lord Sancho would buy him, he might save him many a pound, by keeping his accounts. He knows how many grains are contained in a peck of oats, and can discover whether the grooms feed the horses properly, by inspecting their dung. He is finely qualified to *assist* Mr. M——ng——n, in dividing a farthing into *centesimal* parts, as little Butler has too much wit for his grace. Besides, he has an excellent hand at drawing up a MEMORIAL! —I wish my printer would buy him;—it is the only chance he has of being paid for his election advertisements. Come, gentlemen, just a going.—Ten guineas only bid for the D—— of L———. Why he is worth more to make a Lord Justice of: he has served in that capacity already, and carried a money bill through the council, with as much zeal as old Poyning's.—Fifteen guineas bid—once—twice—three times—Sir, he's yours.

Jupiter. The D— of L———, sold to Doctor Solomon of Fleet-street, for fifteen guineas !

Mercury. The next is the famous Kilkenny orator, Mr. Fl—d. Varicus and versatile are his powers, and great his abilities. He shall grin at a *pattern* for tobacco, and carry off the prize from all the old women in the country.—He is as bold as a wolf-dog, and would make an excellent constable or bailiff.—I wish Sir Richard Johnston would purchase him, to frighten the Hearts of Steel—He would be of more service than the Riot-Act—His very looks will do the business—I set him up at 50l. and a cheap bargain he will be at a thousand. If I don't sell him here, I will carry him to England, and dispose of him to Sir John Fielding, or the president of the Robinhood Society. If the White-Boys were in full march from Kilkenny, I'd set him astride to swing on a turnpike-gate, and, by expostulating,—menacing,—reasoning,—and exhorting,—he would persuade them to lay down their arms and submit. His qualifications and vigilance are extraordinary ; and like the great Lord Shaftesbury, he always sleeps with his eyes open. — Sixty pounds bid for Mr. Fl—d, by Sir Ed—d N—nh—m's aunt.—

aunt.—He is worth a great deal more, as he possesses the virtue of an old Roman. Mr. Fl—d is a man of public spirit and integrity, and will never sell himself to the court for less than a Vice-Treasurer's place. Once, indeed, he was advertised at the Custom-house, to be sold by *inch of candle*; but that's all over. He has continued a steady patriot ever since, and is likely to remain so.—Seventy pounds bid for Mr. Fl—d;—*once—twice—three* times——

Jupiter. Set him down to Mr. Sh—d—n; he will make an excellent usher to his new academy, for the study of oratory.

Mercury. The next is a new proselyte to patriotism. He has just read his recantation from the errors of the court;—he has not gained much credit by it, as most people esteem him a *kiln-dried* convert.—Who bids for honest, facetious Jack P—ns—by; the most obliging, civil, well-bred man of his time. He smiled in every man's face, squeezed every man's hand, and made the same promises to every man.—This is the identical Jack, who played *prick in the loop* with so many Lord Lieutenants, and cheated them all;—but the *Old Soldier* was an over-match for him at last.—I set him up at half a crown, and will sell him on credit.—Three and four pence bid for
Mr.

Mr. P—ns—by, by Bob. B——ch. It's a pity to part old friends—*Once—twice—*Just a going.

Jupiter. Hold—there is a crown bid, by Mr. A—g—n of the Constitution Club. Why, Jack may do for a waiter there—He is fit for nothing else—I hope he would use L—gf—d, T—ns—d, and the rest of Lord Sh—n—n's friends well, and not serve them with small-beer when they call for wine.—Mr. P—ns—by just a going—half a guinea bid by Lord M—ra, F. R. S.

Mercury. I wish you joy, my Lord! make him your porter, and your visitors will be prepared at the gate, to relish your Lordship's *veracity* in the parlour.

Jupiter. Enter, Mr. P. sold to the Earl of M—a, for eleven and four pence halfpenny.

Mercury. The next patriot I produce is, Father J—F—tz—ns. His conversion, like Father Hurly's, was not deemed sincere; *lack of perferment* is the cause of both.—If any Catholic nobleman wants a chamber counsel, and a domestic chaplain, let him purchase Father John. He can act in both capacities, and *either* appear as a Jesuit, or a Newgate Solicitor. His voice is as melancholy as a passing-bell, or a muffled drum. He never gave an opinion without

without a *qualifying* IF, to save his credit. He has made his fortune by that word. His mild consort *once* cudgelled him for requesting the *titular* bishop of Corke to christen his son, IF F—tz—ns, in order to express his gratitude to the monosyllable.—Come, I set him up at three pence—Who bids?—I'll sell a bargain of him——

Jupiter. Mr. Mercury, you'll oblige by knocking him down to this lady;—she has no money, but offers an *Agnus Dei*, and a pair of beads.—Set him down to the abbess of —— nunnery.

Mercury. Come, gentlemen, the humorous Knight of Clare, Sir L. O'B—n, who always laughs at his own joke, to save other people the trouble of finding it out. He has excellent talents for chief-joker at a city feast, and would be reckoned a wit among the aldermen: I wish our *patriotic* Lord Mayor had made him secretary, when he dismissed Mac Dermot.—Sir L——s is also an expert engineer, and thrives like a frog in a canal of putrified water.—Whoever purchases him, shall have the gold box he got from the corporation of brewers for *sinking* the revenue, to *raise* the price of patriots.—If any of the common council buys him, the inscription may be altered,

tered, and the gold box will serve for Sir Ed—rd, without putting the city to the expence of a new one, which they will be scarce able to afford, as I hear the Surveyor of Dunleary is determined to curtail *their customs*.— I set him up at a shilling. Who bids more? —Eighteen pence bid for Sir L—s O'B—n, by one of the late worshipful aldermen of Skinner's-alley.—*Once—twice—three times*.—

Jupiter. Come, Mr. Mercury, be a little brisk; Lord Harcourt will land before you finish the auction, if you go on at this rate.

Mercury. You see how low patriotism is fallen in this country; the sale goes on as heavily as a subscription for sermons, or Doctor Lucas's monument. —Come forward, thou Knight Errant of Kilmainham—you shall not skulk under petticoats, as you did in the gallery of the house at the Augmentation. —Sir Ed—d is qualified for every thing. He is very candid and sincere, for he made an *affidavit*, to convince the public that he is not a man of honour—a point that was never contested. To prove himself a man of spirit, Ned first behaved like a lying knave—and then, to apologize for his behaviour, acted like a poltroon. If any person doubts Mercury's arguments, *a priori*, let him enquire of Mr. C—, a

posteriori. I mention these particulars, from my esteem for Sir Ed—d, as I know *they* will recommend him to the free citizens. Ned is a most affectionate father, and a man of principles — for he first lays out his children's money on a purchase, *then* forfeits his employment, and turns patriot, because he could not obtain an additional salary. In the mean time, he apologises for his absurdity, by saying it was at his aunt's request. However, Ned is a *True Blue*, and a friend to liberty.—— To shew his REVOLUTION PRINCIPLES, and attachment to the *House of Hanover*, and in defiance of Jack the Batchelor, he *besouled* St. DOULOUGH's well in the grossest manner, and afterwards gave a memorial to the commissioners, to be rewarded for serving the revenue. — These are the qualifications which entitled Ned to a seat in the next parliament, for the city of Dublin: if Mr. H. does not oppose him, he will certainly carry the election. I set him up at three farthings——Who bids more?—Two pence half-penny bid for Sir Ed—d, by honest Georgy C—ck—ne, the agent. The Knight of the Post will swear his *pint* decanters, quarts, and erase his name from an *accepted* bill, and prove it a *forged* one.

Jupiter. Come enter *him* sold to George C——ne Esq. for two pence three farthings.

Mercury. Suppose we conclude the sale, by setting up the Free Press of St. Audeon's, the Committee, and the Writers to sale.

Jupiter. A proper conclusion, Mr. Mercury; begin then.

Mercury. Who bids for the Writers, Publishers, and venders of Treason and Scandal, wholesale and retail—The correctors of all grievances; the menders of our morals, and bad pavement; rewarders of virtue; punishers of vice; guardians of the constitution; scourges of tyrants; midwives to the Muses; gentlemen ushers, and honourable panders to the Catos, Aristiduses, and Bruti of Pimlico and the Poddle; the terror of alewives, extortioners, and ladies fashionable head-dresses. They can descend from the highest to the lowest; from the Exchequer of a nation, to the bills of an hedge tavern; from the revenue, to a mutton kidney——

Jupiter. Hold! hold! Mercury; we can't dispose of the Committee without leave of the King's-Bench; Judge R——ns——n may perhaps commit you for a contempt of the court, unless Mr. T——nl——ns——n withdraws his action: we must postpone the sale till that matter

matter is determined.—But, not to lose time, we may put up that groupe of second-rate patriots that are huddled together in the corner: name them, Mercury, and make a lot of them.

Mercury. Come forward, gentlemen. Here R—w—y, M—x—ll, O—e, F—f—e, C—m—r, B—gh, and the old *College bed-maker*, our city representative,—do—put them up at something—What, will nobody bid for them? Here, throw in B—ll—m—nt and M—a. Now, gentlemen, seven and six pence is not a great matter: if they will serve for no other purpose, you may sell them to the merchants, and clap them in the niches round the statue of Doctor Lucas, in the New Exchange. Lord B—ll—m—nt's fine person speaks for itself; and as to the other, clap a chain round his neck, and a furred gown on his back, and the gravest of the twenty-four has not a more alderman-like appearance.—Fifteen shillings—going—going—no body bids more. Gone for fifteen shillings, to the Exchange committee.

[*Exunt omnes.*]

APPENDIX

TO THE

BATCHELOR.

NUMBER I.

In vain to desarts thy retreat is made;
The muse attends thee to thy silent shade:
'Tis hers, the brave man's latest steps to trace,
Rejudge his acts, and dignify disgrace.
When Interest calls off all her sneaking train,
And all th' oblig'd desert, and all the vain;
Thro' Fortune's cloud one truly great we see,
Nor fear to tell that P——y is he. POPE.

To the Rt. H—ble J— P—y, Esq.

S I R,

MMORALISTS and sage politicians have
expatiated largely on the instability of
court favour: you, sir, have experienced the
truth of their observations. How ungratefully
have you been treated for all your past services!

The public are pretty well acquainted with your character ; but from my particular esteem and regard for you, I shall divulge some anecdotes that must do you honour, and which, from a laudable modesty, you have industriously concealed.

I am vexed to see you reduced to a private station, and no longer presiding at that board where your abilities shined so conspicuous. As a patriot, it must give me the deepest concern, to see you deprived of that influence, which you so wisely exerted in so many boroughs and counties for the good of your country. How many freeholders have you relieved by generously *pensioning* them on the c—st—ms, and indulged with receiving the profits of their employments, without obliging them to submit to the fatigue of the duty.

Superficial observers, sir, have ascribed your late patriotic conduct to spleen and disappointed ambition. They say, that *pensions*, *titles*, and *reversions*, were the only objects you had in view.—That you were piqued at the residence of a chief governor, as it deprived you of all hopes of becoming one of the illustrious *triumvirate* which long governed this kingdom with so much honour ; and that your opposition to the court sprung from the most selfish and sordid motives.

But these specious objections are easily confuted. Even allowing that you proposed very extraordinary terms for your compliance with administration, I am sure, sir, you only did so, that they might be rejected with scorn, and that you might have a *reasonable* apology for displaying those noble principles of integrity and disinterestedness, which always glowed in your bosom, though you had concealed them so industriously for many years, that even your most intimate friends never once suspected you had the least idea of them. You acted, sir, like Brutus in Tarquin's court : he affected folly, to secure himself from the jealous rage of a tyrant ; and you only assumed the corrupt manners of a courtier, to gain preferment.

Besides, though you had really intended to support the measures of administration, if your terms had been accepted, you still shewed a high degree of virtue in demanding such extravagant ones. You meant to convince the public how sincerely you loved your country, by requiring such a bribe to betray it ; for certainly a man esteems a thing in proportion to the price he sets on it.

Your enemies, sir, have accused you with want of spirit ; I am surpris'd at such a calumny. You lately gave a most convincing

proof of your intrepidity in the House of Commons. You were hardy enough to deny a charge, though the evidence of your own handwriting was against you. A less zealous friend than I am, might be puzzled to defend you ; but I can perceive the rectitude of your intentions, even in your deviating from truth. It was in the glorious cause of liberty, sir, that you for once condescended to swerve from that nice and delicate sense of honour, which you have constantly preserved. An inviolable attachment to your word, a rare quality in a statesman ! was one of those peculiarities for which I always admired you. But I candidly acknowledge, that I esteem you the more for giving up this shining characteristic, for the service of your country. In that case, sir, a private vice becomes a public benefit ; and it is equally true in politics, as in morals, that the end justifies the means.

A person of your quick sensibility, must have suffered severely on such a trying occasion. You then had virtue enough to resign the character of an honest man, to attain the nobler name of a patriot. The greater the sacrifice, the more your country is indebted to you.

As Speaker of the House of Commons, you have gained universal applause. You were re-

solved

solved to stock that honourable assembly with patriots, and, therefore, in contested elections, you nobly rejected some members who had an undoubted majority of votes, and would only admit those who promised to support your interest, and the constitution of their country, as those terms are synonymous.

Some people are amazed, how you could maintain such an influence in the House, with that small stock of natural abilities which they invidiously allow you. But what they malignantly design as a reproach, turns out the highest compliment. If you were endued with superior parts and shining abilities, the phenomenon would be easily accounted for. Your merit, sir, is the greater, as you have been able to effect such grand things by slender means : a general who conquers with a small force, acquires greater glory than if his troops were more considerable.

Your enemies, sir, also accuse you of having deserted your grand ally on the Augmentation Bill ; but they do not consider, that, like Shakespeare's apothecary, *your will never consented*. You were justly apprehensive of losing your employment, and that is a sufficient apology.

Give me leave, sir, to lament with you, the degeneracy of my countrymen: I long ago expected that the whole kingdom would have been in a flame; that petitions and remonstrances would have been sent up from all quarters. What can be the reason of this supineness? Are they base enough to imagine that you design to imitate our memorable patriots of 1753? The conduct of these men has been of the utmost prejudice to this kingdom: it has made every Irishman a sceptic, they doubt the very existence of patriotism. They cannot be persuaded to think their rights and privileges in danger, because a Money-bill was originated in the council, as it has been the usual mode of proceeding for two or three hundred years.—But the absurdity of such a conclusion is evident. For at different periods, the same thing may have quite different effects: you, sir, were convinced of the truth of this maxim. In 1761 you supported the very measure which you have since discovered to be subversive of the constitution. You have observed something dangerous in that tyrannic scheme, which you have not as yet thought proper to disclose. Probably, sir, you are apprehensive of throwing the nation into ferments. You have acted like a skilful physician, who conceals the danger of
the

the patient's case, lest the discovery might terrify him too much.

*It is now time, sir, to mention a circumstance which must render you extremely popular in this kingdom. As you foresaw with your usual sagacity, the necessity and propriety of a land tax, you prudently resolved to insert a clause in every new lease which passed through your hands, in order to throw the burthen on the tenant, without diminishing the landlord's rent roll. One gentleman, indeed, after his lease was perfected, suspected the legality of such a clause, and was rash enough to consult two eminent lawyers on the point. Their opinions chanced to coincide, and were entirely in his favour. Tho' you, sir, were acquainted with their sentiments, you paid no regard to them, but steadily resolved to pursue your plan, and accordingly served this refractory tenant with an ejectment. He took defence, and you then commenced a suit against him; but as you were always tender of your reputation, and would rather lose your right than your popularity, you stopped all proceedings at the beginning of this session *.*

This

* The candid reader will be convinced of the use and efficacy of Phocion's address to the right hon. John Ponsby, Esq. (on the subject of an intended land tax) by

This was a fine example for the landed gentry; they owe you particular obligations for that

perusing the following extract from Mr. Caldwell's letter.

“ To ARTHUR BAYLEY, Esq.

“ On the death of the late Mr. Langrishe, Lord Besborough did me the honour of appointing me his general agent, and I am now to inform you, his Lordship is willing to sign any instrument your council shall advise, to exempt you from all possible apprehensions of being charged with those parliamentary taxes you seem so averse to, on your paying the rent you now owe, which has been for the time past clearly exonerated and disencumbered therefrom; or if you rather chuse to surrender your lease of part of Garryhill, my Lord will accept a surrender thereof, on your paying the arrear due.

Your most obedient humble servant,

“ Dublin, 5th June, 1770.

CHA. CALDWELL.

To the Earl of BESBOROUGH.

MY LORD,

IT gives me peculiar pleasure, to find that your Lordship has ordered Mr. Caldwell, your agent, to have a defeasance made of that very particular clause in one of your Lordship's leases, which subjects the tenant to a future land-tax, instead of his opulent landlord. Probably, your Lordship never saw Counsellor Wolfe's, and the Attorney-General's opinions on this point of law, till they appeared in my speculations.

As

that masterly stroke of politics : perhaps you were induced to take this step, by observing how

As the same *illegal* and *alarming* clause is inserted in all Mr. Ponsonby's leases, I hope your Lordship's example will have a proper influence on him.—When he was a courtier, my Lord, he might have a secret intimation from the ministry, that a land-tax would be introduced here, and therefore acted with prudence by securing himself at his tenants expence : but now that he is a patriot, he can have no reason for obstinately adhering to this prudential system.—I shall be pleased with having an opportunity of blazoning that gentleman's merit, for he is remarkably modest, and to avoid public applause, so carefully conceals the great services he has rendered his country, that even his most intimate friends are strangely puzzled to give me the least information about them.

I am told, that your Lordship disapproves of his late patriotic proceedings : however, my Lord, Mr. Ponsonby's is a most extraordinary character ; he gained more friends and dependents by empty promises, than by conferring essential favours :—I hope your Lordship will pardon this digression, and I shall now return to my subject.

I have a secret satisfaction, my Lord, in reflecting on the great use my speculations have been to your tenant Mr. Bayley. He perceived the dangerous tendency of a clause foisted into his lease, with great art and dissimulation, and was determined to act with spirit and resolution.

Mr. Bayley, who with diligent breast,
 The subject, that of his lease, pursued.

how the insolence of the yeomanry was increased by the Octennial Bill, and probably you

He stated his case with clearness and precision, and submitted it to Counsellor Wolfe and Mr. Tisdall; encouraged by their favourable opinions, he was determined to have the legality of the clause tried. On being served with an ejectment, he *took defence*, and was then threatened with the utmost rigour of the law, if he did not quietly submit. Several of the papers relative to this affair, fell accidentally into my hands. As I thought it a matter of some consequence, I was determined to lay the whole transaction minutely before the public, and took care to inclose your Lordship a few speculations containing my remarks, and Mr. Bayley's very ingenuous narrative. I own that my vanity is greatly flattered by Mr. Caldwell's letter. Your conduct my Lord, does you honour, and I can assure you, that I entertain no despicable idea of your Lordship's understanding, since you have paid so much deference to my arguments.

As several of your tenants, my Lord, have a right to the same indulgence shewn Mr. Bayley, I suppose your Lordship's directions to your law agent, were general, and equally extended to them. I only mention this my Lord, lest some malignant persons may impute your Lordship's behaviour to a sinister motive, if Mr. Bayley should be particularly distinguished.

I remain,

My Lord,

Your L—p's most obliged,

And most obedient humble servant,

JEFFERY WAGSTAFFE.

contrived this latter scheme to counteract the pernicious effects of it.

Persevere, sir, in your patriotism, and though you should never more fill such an honourable and lucrative employment, as first Commissioner of the revenue, I know you will be rejoiced to find your place supplied by a person generally esteemed your superior, both in integrity and abilities. You will then resemble that illustrious Greek, who was a candidate to be enrolled in the band of heroes that fell at Thermopylæ, and on being rejected, thanked the Gods. "There were so many better men
" in Sparta."

I have thus, sir, taken some pains to vindicate your character and conduct, from very illiberal aspersions. I thought it more essentially requisite at this time, as with infinite regret, I find most people too apt to credit those invidious sarcasms.

I always considered you as a most amazing person. You are a facetious companion, without borrowing the least assistance from either wit or humour. You preside with equal dignity in the house, and at the head of a pack of hounds; and your eloquence is equally adapted for either. The same versatile genius made

Alcibiades so extraordinary a personage, It is my boast to have first discovered and pointed out a resemblance between you. Others may have courted you in the sunshine of your power; in your fall I address you :

and am, sir, yours, &c.

Y

PHOCION.

NUMBER II.

Deerant quoque littora ponto.

OVID.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

S I R,

I Am one of your readers, and constant purchasers of your paper, not merely for the sake of some good strokes of humour which occasionally appear; but because it is the only political paper which gives us facts and calculations, from whence we can form any just conclusion on the state of our country, and the conduct of men. These I often see confirmed by testimonies, which are laid before parliament; by authorities of this nature, the judgment

judgment of every impartial man will be determined. I have frequently reflected with concern, that many large sums which have been granted for public works, have been squandered away in the most infamous jobbing that ever disgraced a country.—Of all the enormous sums granted during Mr. P—by's administration, how small a part was really for national purposes?—Let any man of common sense examine what are called public works, and he will find they are a reproach to the kingdom. Observe the shameful work at Dunleary, where the sole intent of the engineer (if he can be so called) was to have the work to do over again.—Also at Wicklow; how many thousands have been spent to turn aside the true course of the river, and prevent its securing the harbour's mouth; whilst a huge expensive work is directed in a straight line out to sea, in such a manner, that no ship can venture to run into the ports in distress, the only time that such a harbour is ever thought of. Trace this political jobbing regularly along the coast—behold the job of Dungarvan, which cost 1500 l. where aqueducts are made that can scarce contain water sufficient to drown a kitten—Consider the immense sums laid out on the contemptible forts of Dungannon, Culke, and Kinsale.

They

They are so many drains to the public revenue, and the purses of the people; for they must affect the latter in the second instance, and will be severely felt, notwithstanding the specious clamour of those false patriots, who loudly expatiate on the poverty of the nation, and other difficulties and objections, to raise their own prices and importance.

Though that celebrated work, called the Mother Line, is really a work of public utility, as it is calculated to open an immediate communication between the metropolis, and the interior parts of the kingdom; yet, how has it been executed? — Infamously — the levels of which were taken by Mr. Omer, on horseback; whose accurate eye served instead of an instrument. This was *proved* by him on oath, before a committee of the house.

The line of the Canal, pursued to gratify particular people, instead of obeying the rules of nature, and dictates of science, witness the lock-houses built before the line was cut, on purpose to create offices, and bestow salaries on the worn-out domestics of the chief jobbers. — These expensive offices have cost the nation 10,332l. 18s. 2d. to maintain the supervisors of a dry ditch.

The

The new plan to carry on this work by subscription, conveys an idea of public spirit; and, if faithfully executed, may succeed as well here as in England. Though as a present *douceur*, the subscribers propose to convert 77,101l. 12s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. of the national money into private property.

We also find, that our collieries have been worked with the same jobbing spirit; and tho' 65,000l. 17s. 11d. have been lavished on the Tyrone and Ballycastle collieries; and though the D—b—n S—ty have endeavoured to reduce jobbing to a regular system, by particular præmiums on that colliery, yet at this day there are not ten tons of Irish coals in Dublin, nor has there ever been a sufficient quantity to lower the price of English coal.

That infamous jobb of the Black Water (or Mallow navigation) on which 11,000l. was granted, for the purpose of supplying the southern part of the kingdom with coals, now lies in the same unfinished state as the Grand Canal, and is now converted by the gentlemen of the country into cascade and fish-ponds.

But of all the jobbs which have disgraced the kingdom, the bridges erected in the city and county of Kilkenny, are the most infamous. —£8500 was granted by parliament, on the
magni-

magnificent plan, and plausible estimates, furnished by one of his Majesty's engineers, who, to make them the more expensive, proposed they should be built of cut stone. The sum was granted to execute his plan;—yet every traveller knows, that three out of five of these bridges were erected of rough stone, by the country mason, and in the cheapest manner.—Consequently 4000 l. at least, remains in the *honourable* trustee's hand for repairs!

Various, indeed, have been the sums granted to this *favourite* county—no less than the sum of 25,250 l. to render the river Nore navigable, though a Norway yawl could not float on it; and to erect a country bridge, ornamented with the Ionic order, to terminate a view from the house of that *virtuoso*, Sir William Fownes: and even when this bridge was destroyed, in the year 1763, it was rebuilt in the same taste, at the public expence, to gratify Sir William's *singular* taste in architecture.

These, sir, are only general hints: in my next I shall be more particular. The history of jobbing shall be given, with several curious extracts from Sir Richard Cox's book on the subject.

I am, sir, yours,

November 12, 1771.

AN ENEMY TO JOBS.

N U M B E R III.

In every jobb to go a share,
Canals to cut, and jails repair ;
And turn the fields to public roads,
Cominodious to their own abodes.

SWIFT.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

IN my former letter, Mr. Wagstaffe, I freely condemned all those *political* præmiums, given under the respectable title of parliamentary grants, which were solely calculated for the emolument of particular men, or families, without the least tendency to national improvement. Such bounties were *indirect* bribes, given by the aristocratic powers, to maintain their *local* interests ; or to *commute* for the pretended patriots silence on *official* transgressions. The crown, in the interim, lost the means of providing for the national defence and security ; and the kingdom was loaded with the additional expence of *making good* the deficiencies which those gratifications had occasioned. — Our late patriotic servants of the crown, were *even* pleased with the public distress, and never failed (as I am told) to insist on their
OWN

own terms for extricating both the government and the country from those difficulties, which were the inevitable consequences of their selfish system. — If the exorbitant demands of the aristocracy were not granted, government was misrepresented to the people :—*Hesitation* in the state contractors, to *close the bargain*, was called patriotism, and the deluded multitude was taught to huzza in their favour.

Every independent man must look down with indignation on the fallacious professions, and mean artifices of such a miserable junto : every honest man, every friend to his country, would prevent such impositions for the future. Yet, on the same principle, he would judiciously and candidly distinguish between selfish jobs, and national improvements ;—he would liberally contribute to the support of our charter schools, and that humane provision for distressed orphans ;—every rational scheme for the extension and improvement of our linen manufacture, would meet with his hearty concurrence. To complete the plan for rendering the harbour of Dublin more safe and commodious, is certainly an object of great importance and public utility. In short, agriculture, and every useful art, on which the population, industry, and the true interest of a country depend,

pend, should meet with every proper encouragement.—Let the national wealth be judiciously bestowed, to cherish our infant arts and manufactures, and not prostituted to gratify a pampered faction.—Let us not court the people by distressing the crown; nor distress the people, by any improper compliance with government.

Let us now examine the different jobs which have been carried on in this kingdom, under the specious appearance of *public works*. In the center of the kingdom stands that disgraceful monument of L—d L——d's, which was to have been a magazine of corn. When will that patriot family refund the 3000l. for which their honour was pledged to the public.—Let me recommend this enquiry to that *accurate accountant, and great financier*, Sir W——m M——y——ne.

Turn your eyes northward, and behold the infamous jobs on that coast — an enormous sum, granted to *establish a fishery* at Balbriggan, under the pretence of building a *pier*, in a harbour where a packet-boat cannot enter without *grounding*; whilst the deep and capacious harbour of Skerries has been neglected, notwithstanding repeated application from the merchants of Dublin. The late Lord Sh——n——n, indeed,

indeed, granted the proprietor a *douceur* of 2000*l.* but he did not live long enough to reap the fruits of his patron's bounty.

Mr. O'H—ra's fishery on the Western coast, is only known in the *parliamentary accounts*. If that public spirited gentleman had caught any whales, I suppose we should have heard of their dimensions in the papers. He has enjoyed his *præmium* for years, and if he has caught nothing, it is surely high time he should give over that sport.

Behold the dangerous harbour of Drogheda, left *almost* in its natural state, though a sum of money was expended on it by the celebrated Mr. Omer, who was permitted to squander 500,000*l.* because he was a *convenient* tool to those patriotic dispensers of national benefits. —Examine the useless piers of Enver and Bangor, built at the public charge, when the North and South rocks, by remaining without lights, prove so fatal to the mariner: yet, the inhabitants of Dublin, Belfast, and Glasgow, have repeatedly petitioned for the *usual indulgence*. It is well known that the inhabitants of that coast, pay their rents by the plunder of the many ships cast on those projecting rocks. — In all these specious impositions, the chief engineer had the honour of being a mere *nominal* trustee,

trustee, though the jobbers had the modesty never to employ him.

Is it not notorious, that private fortunes have been made, and estates purchased, by parliamentary grants?—witness the Ballycastle colliery. How shall I describe the Lagan navigation?—a ship sailed from Belfast to the West-Indies, and returned, before a boat from the same port could reach Lisburn, which is only seven miles. Yet this canal was reported navigable!

The Shannon, that mighty river, so celebrated for its barrier against the invasion of the Milesians, and the efficacy of its waters on *physiognomy*, would yet be no Irish river if it had not a share of the public money! However, twelve miles of this chain of *lakes* and *rapids*, which *otherwise* might have swallowed up the whole revenue, is now carried on by private subscription. The junction of the Shannon with the Bresnaw, is certainly an object of public utility, but what public benefit can arise by carrying on the *cut* from Banagher to Bellhavell, through such a desert tract (where we can only discover the towns of Athlone and Carrick) still remains an inexplicable mystery, except to those immediately concerned in the job.

I hope

I hope what I have said will be favourably received by the impartial and unprejudiced, though I hear my first letter has displeased those gentlemen who style themselves patriots.—I did not dip my pen in the dirt of the day, nor entertain my readers with personal abuse, nor virulent invective;—yet the abettors and compilers of those decent papers, the Freeman and Hibernian Journals, who trumpet forth the falsest defamation, were offended. How could I suppose that *public truths* could so far provoke those champions of freedom, Mr. F——d and S——r L——ci——us O'Bry——n, as to draw down their censure on the *liberty of the press*, and leave that invaluable privilege to the protection of the CHIEF SECRETARY, and ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Nov. 5th, 1772.

AN ENEMY TO JOBS.

NUMBER IV.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

S I R,

I Am surprised that none of our patriotic projectors ever adopted Sir William Petty's judicious plan for the improvement of this country.

country.—“ By comparing,” says he, “ the
 “ extent of the territory with the number of
 “ people, it appears that Ireland is much un-
 “ der-peopled ; for as much as there are above
 “ ten acres of good land to every head in Ire-
 “ land, whereas in England and France there
 “ are but four, and in Holland scarce one.

“ That if there be 250,000 spare hands
 “ capable of labour, who can earn four or five
 “ pounds per annum, one with another, it
 “ follows that the people of Ireland, well
 “ employed, may earn one million per annum
 “ more than they do now, which is more
 “ than the year’s rent of the whole country.

“ If an house with stone walls and a chim-
 “ ney, well covered, and half an acre of land
 “ well ditched about, may be made for four
 “ or five pounds or thereabouts; then two-
 “ thirds of the spare hands of Ireland, can in
 “ one year’s time build and fit up 160,000 such
 “ houses and gardens, instead of the like num-
 “ ber of the wretched cabbins above-mentioned;
 “ and that in a time when a foreign trade is
 “ most dead and obstructed; and when money
 “ is most scarce in the land.

“ The other third part of the said spare
 “ hands within the same year (besides the
 “ making

“ making of bridges, harbours, rivers, high-
 “ ways, &c. more fit for trade) are able to
 “ plant as many fruit and timber-trees, and
 “ also quickset hedges, as, being grown up
 “ would distinguish the bounds of lands, beautify
 “ the country, shade and shelter cattle, furnish
 “ wood, fuel, timber, and fruit, in a better
 “ manner than ever was yet known in *Ireland*
 “ or *England*: and all this in a time when
 “ trade is dead, and money most scarce.

“ If the gardens belonging to the cabbins
 “ abovementioned, be planted with hemp and
 “ flax, according to the present statute, there
 “ would grow 120,000*l.* worth of the said com-
 “ modities; the manufactures whereof, as also
 “ of the wool and hides now exported, would,
 “ by the labour of the spare hands above-
 “ mentioned, amount to above one million
 “ per annum more than at present.”

If Sir William Petty's excellent scheme had
 been pursued, industry and manufactures would
 have made a rapid progress in this country, and
 the common people would have acquired some
 notion of cleanliness and decency:—but the
 mere improvement of the kingdom (uncon-
 nected with parliamentary jobs) was inconsistent
 with the popular system of Hibernian politics.
 Hence originated the wise projects of opening
 a com-

a communication between *distant parts*, by means of an inland navigation, and of promoting an internal commerce between places that had no commodities to exchange.—Since the year 1723, 323,088l. os. 5¹d. has been paid, *out of the revenues at large*, for making rivers navigable—collieries—dry-docks, &c. The defalcation of his Majesty's hereditary revenue was the grand object, which was invariably pursued with persevering industry, and uncommon success. The national treasure was shared among the trusty representatives of the people. If a member wanted *to build a new house*, two or three thousand pounds were granted *to build a pier for the protection of shipping*—Nay, so judiciously were *all public works* conducted, that carpenters, on the credit of making a water-spout, have been chosen engineers, and received a practising diploma from the N—g—t—n Board. Our disinterested patriots derived a double advantage from this mode of jobbing ; —In the first instance, they divided the *spolia opima* of their country among themselves ; and then enjoyed the inexpressible satisfaction of obliging government to gratify them with places and pensions, to supply the deficiency they themselves had occasioned.

It was impossible, Mr. Wagstaffe, for an English nobleman, unacquainted with the views, connections, and families of this kingdom, to break through this corrupt system of petty politics, which was established by *uninterrupted precedent and usage*. Besides, the *undertakers* solemnly professed to every Lord Lieutenant, that it was impossible to carry on the King's business, without dispensing these *constitutional douceurs* to country gentlemen, especially representatives of counties, who were apprehensive of losing their interest by accepting a bribe in any other way.

This was the true motive that induced Lord Chatham, and the English ministry to appoint a *resident* Viceroy. The extension of our commerce, and improvement of our constitution, will long distinguish Lord Townshend's administration. A Lord Lieutenant who must reside *among us for years*, will be ever ready to promote the true interest of the kingdom, and conciliate the affection of the people—to reduce our finances to order and regularity—to check the parliamentary misapplication of the revenue.—And to provide a sufficient fund for the maintenance of the civil and military establishments, and for the reduction of the national debt, are objects which should engage the
the

the serious attention of our legislature.—Let it be remembered, that no less a sum than 1,574,245*l.* 5*s.* 9½*d.* has been paid out of *the revenues at large*, in parliamentary præmiums, bounties, &c. I shall suppose that half a million of this enormous sum has been honestly, however improperly, expended.—One million *then*, at least, has been prostituted to enrich and attach men to our aristocratic faction.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

Y

A MERCHANT.

NUMBER V.

Quis Furor O Cives?

VIRGIL;

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

SIR,

“**I**N a free and virtuous state,” says Rousseau, “there should always exist such a mutual confidence between the government and people, that the rights of each should not be precisely defined. Men of taste, reckoned that picture hard, where the outlines are so strong as to be clearly seen. They admire a piece of painting, where the

“colours are delicately blended, and the tints,
 “which point out every particular object, are
 “softened into each other, by an insensible
 “gradation.” This idea I think just and
 beautiful. The warm debates last Saturday,
 on the altered Money-bill, evince the truth of
 the philosopher’s reasoning. It is the un-
 doubted privilege of the people of Ireland, to
 be taxed *only* by their own representatives. We
 are *only* free, whilst we enjoy this inestimable
 privilege, which should always be preserved
 sacred and inviolate. But it is hardly to be
 expected, that England will ever suffer her
 manufactures to be taxed, or any restrictions
 laid on her commerce by an Irish House of
 Commons. Whether this was not the obvious
 reason of the late alteration, I shall submit to
 the candid and unprejudiced reader?

It was agreed by doth parties, that the words
 “Cotton Or,” were a clerical omission: they
 were inserted in the Donaghadee transmiss,
 though the two other alterations were the same,
 in both bills. In the clause, laying a duty of
one shilling per barrel on all herrings imported,
 the words “*except British herrings,*” were
 added. In the clause, laying a duty of six
 pence per yard, on *foreign* diapers and damasks
 imported, the words “except from *Great*
Britain,”

Britain," were added. It is probable, that an exception was intended by the Commons, in favour of the English manufactures, by inserting the word *foreign*; but as that word in its *strict* and *literal* sense, might bear another construction, to prevent any ambiguity, positive and explicit exception was judged necessary. British herrings indeed are exempted from the duty of *one* shilling per barrel; but how "this would open a channel for "Swedish and Dutch herrings to be imported "duty free," I submit to the sagacious Mr. B—ry B—ry to prove. He might as well assert that "excepting English silks and paper, "from the duties laid on French, would be "attended with the same princious effects."

The *alterations* that had taken place were certainly *inconsiderable*, and if they had not been approved, they would not have been adopted, in the new Money-bill, which is *verbatim*, the same with the Donaghadee transmiss. A motion was made, to postpone the hearing of this important question, till Monday, to see if any expedient could be devised to preserve *inviolable* the rights of the H—se, and, at the same time, to prevent the material injuries, which the trade, revenue, and manufactures might sustain, by the expiration of

the additional duties, before a new Money-bill could be passed. The expedience of this measure was the only point in debate. It was said, "That large quantities of gold and silver lace, " foreign silks, cottons, &c. might be imported " *duty free*, that by a delay of two days, some- " thing might be struck out, to reconcile all " parties, and prevent every inconvenience." After some debate, the question was put, and carried against adjourning. The previous motion, for rejecting the bill, was carried without a division.

The Prime Serjeant and Mr. Perry displayed their usual abilities on this very interesting point; Mr. B——e, and Mr. L——e, spoke so pathetically, that Mr. F. who never wept for himself, like Cato wept for his friends. He has since declared, that his future opposition to government, shall be *pro bono publico*, neither directed by spleen, disappointment, or malevolence. On these conditions, his old friends, the two little *Ajaces*, have promised to creep again behind his shield, and to shoot their arrows from beneath its ample orb.

Every unprejudiced reader, must be convinced that the English ministry, had no intention to injure our trade or manufactures, by those alterations, which appeared so exception-

ceptionable to the house. They have even received their approbation, as *they were adopted by them*. These alterations were solely calculated to preserve the British commerce free from any restrictions; and did not in the least affect the right of taxation, which every Irishman would maintain sacred and inviolable, at the hazard of his life and fortune.

It is always proper to undeceive the public, and expose the political craft of those disappointed incendiaries, who, on every occasion, are assiduously active in throwing the kingdom into a political ferment on the slightest occasion. They resemble the honest parson's wife, who put her head out of the window, and alarmed her neighbours by the cry of "Murder, fire, thieves, robbery!" yet, on examination, this *false alarm* was only occasioned by her husband's having innocently kissed the servant maid in her presence.

Many of my countrymen firmly believe, that our rights and liberties, would have been annihilated, if the altered Money-bill had not been rejected by the Commons last Saturday. Though in the year 1729, the House passed an *altered Money-bill*, without servilely sacrificing their privilege by doing so; as the right

of taxation has ever since been vested in the representatives of the people. Two short extracts from Boulter's State Letters, will shew the sense of the nation on this subject. "The
" Commons and several others without doors,
" are in a great heat about the alterations,
" made by the council in England, to our
" Money-bill. I believe a great many will
" be for losing the bill, rather than agree to
" the alterations. They are by all, who know
" what they are, allowed to be for the better,
" but the point insisted upon is, that no alteration
" whatsoever, shall be made either in
" the English or Irish Council to a Money-
" bill. It is certain, the law here, is against
" these warm men, and so are the precedents:
" and it is hoped that the majority of the house
" will be sensible of the bad consequences
" of rejecting that Bill, which will run the
" nation much deeper in debt, and that they
" will take care that the Bill passes." In
another letter, dated the 20th of December, 1729, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, he says, "In mine of the 16th, I gave your
" Grace an account of the great ferment we
" were in here, about the alterations made in
" our little Money-bill, by the Council in
" England.

“ England. Yesterday came on the debate
 “ about it in the house of commons, and after
 “ about four hours debate, it was carried in
 “ favour of the bill, 124 against 62. There
 “ have been other divisions since upon every
 “ step of the bill, with great inequality; but
 “ the first was the great trial.”

To check every extension of prerogative, and maintain the constitution in its original form, is the peculiar and indispensable duty of the Commons. A generous and spirited opposition to government, founded on honest and disinterested principles, must always be for the benefit of the people—but faction, under the specious disguise of patriotism, produces national calamity. It may be compared to the juice of the plant *spurge*, which will blister the skin, though it resembles milk in colour and consistence.

I am, sir, yours,

December 28th, 1771.

A SENATOR.

Q

NUMBER VI.

Quid? si quis vultu torvo ferus & pede nudo,
Exiguæque togæ simulet textore Catonem;
Virtutemne representet moresque Catonis.

HOR.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq. *

SIR,

EVERY political zealot thinks himself qualified for a legislator; to maintain the constitution in its original form, he esteems too slight a task, and a degradation of his superior abilities;—under the specious disguise of patriotism, he would abrogate those salutary laws, which the wisdom of our ancestors established, and *substitute* the crude conceptions of his ill informed and perverted judgment. A modern patriot acts with the public spirit of Cæsar, who robbed the Capitol of gold, and replaced it with gilt brass.

In my former letter, sir, I asserted the *constitutional* right of the Commons in the strongest and most explicit terms. I said, indeed, “It

* This was written in Answer to a Letter signed JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU, in the Freeman,

“ could hardly be expected that England will
“ ever suffer her manufactures to be taxed, or
“ any restraint laid on her commerce by an
“ Irish House of Commons. That those al-
“ terations in the Money-bill, which appeared
“ so exceptionable were solely calculated to
“ preserve the British commerce free from any
“ restrictions, and did not in the least affect
“ the *right of taxation*, which every Irishman,
“ would maintain *sacred and inviolable at the*
“ *hazard of his life and fortune.*” I shewed that
the Commons, in the year 1729, had passed an
altered Money-bill, without abridging their
own privilege, or betraying the rights of the
people, which are effectually secured by the
power of *rejecting*, constitutionally vested in the
House. How are these facts answered by the
personated Rousseau? He amuses the reader
with an abridgement of Mr. F——d’s tedi-
ous harangue on the same subject last session,
when that elaborate and ingenious orator de-
claimed three hours and a half, without speak-
ing two minutes to the question. He took infi-
nite pains to shew what the constitution of
Ireland was, before the reign of Henry VII.
After an ostentatious display of great political
knowledge and logic, in proving a point that

was never contested, he drew this very extraordinary conclusion from his premises: "That the constitution of England and Ireland were still the same;"—though the latter was altered and new modelled by Poynings' law, which introduced and perpetually established an essential difference between the political constitutions of both kingdoms!—The late alterations in the Money-bill were adopted by the commons. We have therefore the sanction and approbation of the House for *their* propriety.

Let me now, sir, answer your personal address. You shew little of that liberality of sentiment, (which you recommend) by invidiously pointing out military men, as enemies to freedom, by profession. In the field, they are ever ready to defend the rights of their country.—In the closet, they remember, that a British soldier owes his sovereign the legal obedience of a freeman, not the implicit submission of a slave. On this generous principle they acted at the Revolution. "JAMES," says Lord Bolingbrook, "Drew out his army—" "but it was a British one."

In the same strain, you excruciate the unfortunate and aged Rousseau, by subscribing his
name

name to "Clandestine Calumny." That original and sentimental philosopher, the friend of liberty and truth, you degrade into a calumniator, and an advocate for faction. Your conjectures and your arguments, are equally groundless. The * person falsely, and *maliciously* slandered, was not the writer of that Batchelor, which provoked your resentment, nor was it a joint labour. Precision and eloquence in argument, graced by the traits of a brilliant fancy, acquire new lustre by a classical correctness and polish which discriminate his style: his pieces appear like good prints finely *illuminated*. I should be jealous of his aid, for, like Vortigern, who called in Hengist, I might be ruined by my ally.

You kindly consign "Military men to the dance and theatre for amusement." Suppose we should deviate beyond the bounds you prescribe, and frequent the Senate. Suppose we should *dare* to laugh at a pompous declaimer, who seems to have studied geography in the farce of the Upholsterer, instead of Salmon's Grammar. He who first pointed out a method by which "our natural enemies might strike at the very *vitals of our constitution*, by

* C—pt—n J—ph—n.

"embark-

“embarking at Calais and landing at Dover!” He who proved how impracticable it was for the French to land in the *Southern* or *Western* parts of this kingdom, by asserting “That they must sail up the English channel, and force their way through the British fleet!” Who shewed *equal* skill in history, by telling the House, that “When one of the mob spit in Timoleon’s face and buffeted him, the generous Greek instead of resenting it, returned the gods thanks, that liberty was firmly established in Syracuse!” Suppose we should paint the man, who repays *personal* friendship by personal abuse. Who points his invectives in the senate, against those who plead his cause without fee in the courts. The man whose bombast and distorted figures (to use his own expression) “might make the very benches vocal.”

When faction and patriotism are synonymous terms—when a B—wn—w and a P——y, in the year 1753, deigned to vote for an altered Money-bill, though now they *affect* to believe it *unconstitutional*—when we observe such glaring inconsistencies and contradictions, it is proper to undeceive the public and expose the craft of political incendiaries. I have a

right

right to scrutinize with severity, the *public* characters of men; when truth and justice are my guides: their private actions should be left to the jurisdiction of conscience. I see the Protestant manufacturers drove from their country, by the oppression and extortion of their unfeeling landlords—I see the essential interests of the kingdom neglected, and every means used to promote a breach between this country and England, in order to throw an odium on the administration of Lord T——d: A selfish contest for power, is veiled under an affectation of public spirit. To see a deluded people caressing men who only merit contempt, might even create a suspicion, that a scarcity of good and honest men in the nation, could be the only inducement; as Cato, on observing some strangers at Rome, carrying dogs and monkeys in their bosoms, asked if the women in their country did not bear any children?

I am, sir, yours,

January 7th, 1772.

A SENATOR.

Q

NUMBER VII. *

RESPECT for the genius of Rousseau, and veneration for his character, first led me to seek his acquaintance, and to cultivate his friendship: we met like men whose souls had something congenial, and a name in the republic of letters abridged the forms of introduction, and served as a link to that kind of intercourse which subsists between men, unincumbered by the clogs of the world, and the slavish shackles of interest and selfishness. We had called ourselves Philosophers, and as such we were received by those, who did not give themselves the trouble of examining into the right by which we became our own sponsors. In return for this complaisance, I thought myself bound to conform to the world, where it did not interfere with my happiness, or require a sacrifice of my principles; and when I failed to reform abuses, or to rectify errors, I sat down contented with the endeavour, and wished more skill, and better success to my fellow

* This was written in the character of David Hume, in answer to a letter signed Jean Jacques Rousseau, which appeared in the Freeman,

labourers

labourers in the same undertaking. The citizen of Geneva I soon found was of a very different complexion: an ardent thirst for pre-eminence in science; a prurient vanity, disguised under the affectation of much simplicity and plainness; an understanding too subtle to be convinced; and a temper too irritable to be at peace, made him jealous, discontented, and uncomfortable. The intimacy which ensued between us, left me no room to doubt that he shunned society, not so much to indulge contemplation, as to escape a scrutiny, which would reduce him to the level of that herd from which he had retired. Heteroclite opinions, and the singularity of sectaries, were sure of his countenance; his was a persecution of establishments; and to shake the foundation of systems, confirmed by compact and prescription, was his principle pursuit, his favourite pleasure, and his ultimate ambition. A retrospect to the cause of his alienation from me, (which became afterwards a subject for the tables, and the news-papers of London,) gives me no uneasiness. Though his misanthropy rudely turned back the stream of my benevolence on the source from whence it first proceeded, yet it has still enough of vigour remaining to flow towards him in the same gentle and temperate current;

current ; and if he will not use its waters to wash away the stains of prejudice, let them serve as a mirror, where he may contemplate the incongruity of philosophy with faction ; and of professions of good will to mankind in general, with rancorous invectives against innocent, and respectful individuals.

“ The history,” he says, “ of the English nation, first induced him to seek a refuge among the sons of freedom, as he thought them ; and my *misrepresentations* contributed to the *captivating error*.”—That is, I have in my history represented the people of England as a free people—my pages contain all the information I could collect on that important subject, and my ideas of the British constitution arise from the sum of that information. So far then, as I have endeavoured to explain to my countrymen their right to liberty, I am certainly a friend to freedom. “ Yet Hume,” he says, “ is the missionary of corruption, and applauds the political ethics which himself inspired.”—The very reverse of his premises will lead to his conclusion. Had he gathered from my writings that Britain had no just claim to freedom, that every circumscription of monarchy was an innovation, every extension of the subject’s privileges, an encroachment

ment on the royal prerogative, well might this friend to the natural rights of mankind, have called the arbitrary historian a missionary of corruption. What does the misanthrope mean? Is it that my conversation and example are pernicious, and have a more extensive influence than my literary labours? The supposition is absurd; and yet without this absurdity, I know not how to collect a proposition from his inconsistent rhapsody.

Let me now consider his argument on a subject so often discussed in the parliament of Ireland, and in the fugitive publications of that country. It is immediately palpable from what political MENTOR, the PHILOSOPHER OF THE ALPS has imbibed his doctrines of the Irish constitution. The sentiments in his letter are an abstract of that *senator's* tenets, whose capacity and perseverance have raised him far above his competitors in the strife of opposition. That orator has often perplexed the wise, and astonished the ignorant, with fine-spun sophistries on this his favourite topic; and it is not the meanest of his triumphs, that his rhetoric has roused the harrassed Rousseau again to buckle on his armour, and enter the lists of controversy in the cause of error. It shall be my endeavour to shew him he is deluded by a phantom;

tom ; and it will be his duty to thank me for the discovery.

In reasoning on all constitutional questions, we ought to consider what the constitution and the laws *are* ; not what we *wish* them to be, or what we *think* they *ought* to be ; otherwise, we substitute speculation for reality, and the reveries of every visionary reformer, for the substantial acts which hold nations in obedience to legislative authority, since by that coercion the great end of all civil institutions is promoted, and the frame of government preserved in harmony and good order.

He asserts that the commons of Ireland *only*, have a right to propound and model bills of supply ; that the crown of England has *only a negative* on such bills, and that it has *no power* to *alter* them. As a friend to the immunities of a generous and loyal people, I am sorry to inform him that many laws must be abrogated, and many precedents swept from our remembrance, before any one of his assertions will bear the test of an examination. Let him look to the statute of Poynings, by which it is provided, that no parliament shall be summoned in Ireland, till the *articles* of the acts proposed to be passed therein, are first certified by the governor and council, under the great seal of Ireland.

land In this there is no exception of Money-bills.—Let him turn to the fourth of Philip and Mary, which, to prevent the inconvenience of frequent dissolutions, (and for that purpose chiefly) provides, that bills in the usual form may be certified to England, during the sessions of parliament. In this there is no exception of Money-bills.—Let him consider the Money-bills which have been brought from the governor and council into the house of commons, and there passed—Let him survey the Money-bills which have been altered in England, and passed with such alterations by the parliament of Ireland.—When he has done this let him recommend to the friends of independence, not to deny the existence of such laws and precedents ; but, if possible, to annihilate them : nor to charge a temperate, and public-spirited administration, with attempts to violate the constitution, when they themselves are in fact, the only innovators. He asks, “ What support
“ or existence has the inestimable privilege of
“ the commons, that of being their own tax-
“ masters, if a rival and destructive power be
“ vested in the crown of Great-Britain ?” I answer, that the crown does not exercise the power, nor pretend to the power of taxing you ; that your bills of supply do not become
laws

laws till the commons have approved and passed them : and that the modelling (as he calls it) an Irish Money-bill in England, is no more than proposing to your consideration, for an uncompelled acceptance, one mode of taxing commodities imported into your kingdom, which England thinks preferable to that you have offered for her approbation.

So far I have examined and exposed his injustice and ingratitude to Mr. Hume, and his ignorance or perversion of the constitution of Ireland. It is now time to try, whether he is more candid or better informed in his sentiments of the two military gentlemen, who, he insinuates, “ are hired to the task of wounding with their pens, that constitution they “ are paid for defending with their swords.” A late publication in the Batchelor which he supposes to be a joint-labour, (though I am well informed of the contrary) is, he thinks, a sufficient justification for his contemptuous admonition to both the writers, and for his malicious accusation against one of them. I have carefully perused that paper, and am bold to affirm, that so far as it goes in regard to the late Money-bill, the positions are fair, sensible, and constitutional. For the sake of letters, I must hope, that the author, (let his profession
be

be what it may) will often employ his leisure and his talents on subjects which he seems so well qualified to handle; let him not abuse the gifts of nature, and the advantages of education, by mixing in scenes of idleness, dissipation, and vanity: though his studies should prove offensive to the pretended champions of liberty, and though the philosophic Rousseau steps into the loose robe of Petronius, and recommends, instead of them, the exercises of the dance, and the allurements of the theatre. His malice is of a deeper dye, when he addresses himself to the other gentleman; yet though there be much venom, there is little vigour in the shaft he has aimed at him. Basely and unjustly to revile the man to whose family he belongs, and to whose favour he is obliged, would be absurd and immoral. I know from good authority, the charge is utterly false and groundless. Supposing it had even the colour of truth; how can Rousseau be justified for making it public? It strikes at the fortune, not at the arguments of his imaginary antagonist. If this *kin* to *Hermes* entertains an ill opinion of his patron, that opinion must have been communicated in the freedom of intimacy, and under the security of confidence. It must have been uttered to the *friend*, not to the *publisher*. He

knows no friend vile enough to *betray* such a *secret*; he knows no gentleman wicked enough to *invent* such a *calumny*. As his duty prompted, and his capacity enabled him, he has more than once vindicated the honour of his patron, from the shameless defamations of a licentious press; nor can that noble person one moment admit the testimony of a libeller against the integrity of his advocate, without giving weight at the time, to the same sort of spurious evidence, against his own insulted virtues. The Chief Governor knows why the names of these gentlemen are become the sport of every news paper, and the prey of every anonymous mungrel. It may raise, but it cannot hurt them in his estimation. It is, because they do not look on, and tamely see his name reviled, his conduct misrepresented, and his government rendered odious. It is because they can distinguish between *pretence* and *principle*. It is because they have sometimes wrested the dagger from the hand of the lurking assassin, and turned the point against the magnifico who suborned him. It is in short, because, they have done that in the cause of justice, public virtue, and private friendship, “*quod quisque suos in tali re facere voluisset.*”

January 9th, 1772.

DAVID HUME.

 N U M B E R VIII.

Extremum autem præceptum in beneficiis, operaque danda est, ne quid contra æquitatem contendas, ne quid per injuriam. Fundamentum enim perpetuæ, commendationis, et famæ est justitia, sine qua nihil potest esse laudabile.

CICERO de Officiis.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

S I R,

PLINY describes a species of men with heads like dogs, who barked instead of speaking; I fancy our complaining patriots are lineally descended from those monsters. The dull declaimers in the Freeman, without either precision in their arguments, truth in their assertions, or any knowledge of the subject they write on, still continue to pour out illiberal invectives on our Chief Governor; though a moment's reflection might convince them, that the present deficiency in the revenue principally *originated* from the management of that able financier, and incorrupt patriot, Mr. P.

The late Sir Richard Cox constantly asserted, and proved by the most accurate calculation, that Mr. P—ns—by's election to the

chair, and supporting him in it, cost the nation one million sterling. Sir Richard formed his estimate by the several parliamentary grants for different jobbs, including the pensions bestowed by government on Mr. P—ns—by's friends, from the year 1754, when Lord B—s—b—gh was appointed *Lord Justice*, to the year 1764, when Mr. P. vainly imagined himself firmly established by the *family compact*.—In the year 1765, he became chief contractor for doing what was called the King's business, that is, *procuring the usual supplies essentially requisite to the support and defence of the kingdom*. For thus graciously condescending to serve his country, he enjoyed the invaluable privilege of conducting every jobb in the House of Commons, and of lavishing the public revenue, to influence and carry on elections in the country. Such were the grand objects of Mr. P—ns—by's administration, when he presided in the house, and at the board.

The expence of the revenue establishment annually increased, from 69,658l. 15s. 2½d. till in the year 1769 it amounted to 117,714l. 4s. 2½d. By this means Mr. P. became intoxicated with power, and fought government, (as BROGHILL expresses it) “ in its own armour, and with its own weapons, at the
“ head

“ head of his revenue-legion of collectors,
 “ surveyors, tide-waiters, searchers, packers,
 “ guagers.”

If we examine his ministerial conduct, we shall find, that instead of providing for the exigencies of government, by judicious and equitable taxes, he loaded the nation with a debt of 581,964l. 3s. 9½d. either through inattention or design ; and suffered the very laws, on which the collection of the revenue immediately depended, to be explained away by the subtle distinction of lawyers, and the quirks of smugglers, agents, and solicitors.—To Mr. P. We are obliged for the act of parliament to explain part of the 14th and 15th of Charles II. by which the revenue has been diminished 86,151l. yearly. — Not content with this, more jobbs were accomplished by his unbounded power in the House of Commons to complete the defalcation.

When the Lord Lieutenant's firmness had rendered the leaders of faction contemptible, and baffled every effort either to cajole or intimidate him ; when Mr. P. found himself disappointed in all his mercenary schemes, he at last resigned the chair. Like an ass stung by a hornet, he had smarted by the counsels of the

Kilkenny orator, and was glad to escape from him.

Government, now freed from a disgraceful subjection to state contractors, is in the condition of a person, who on coming to age, discovers the frauds of a knavish guardian: this will appear evident by the following state of the revenue.

	l.	s.	d.
Deficiency occasioned by the explanatory act of the 5th of George III.	—	—	86,151 0 4
By six pence per gallon, drawback on rum landed in England	—	—	—
— a bounty equally prejudicial to both kingdoms, as it encourages smuggling on their coasts,	—	—	64,613 7 0
By an alteration in the excise gallon,	20,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£	170,764	7 4
	<hr/>		

In Aug. 1744, Mr. J

P. was appointed
commissioner: in
that year, which
ended at Lady-day
1745, the revenue
establishment a-
mounted to

l. s. d.

54,092 2 2½

J

	l.	s.	d.
	54,092	2	2½

Which in the
year ending
Lady - day
1759, was

83,259	14	1½
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l.	s.	d.
----	----	----

Increased charge	—	29,167	11	11
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INCIDENTS.

	l.	s.	d.
Yearending Lady day 1744.	15,566	13	0

Yearending Lady day 1769.	31,454	10	1½
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Increased charge in incidents	15,887	17	1½
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£ 45,055	9	0½
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Mr. P. thus appropriated the sum of 45,055 l. for the maintenance of his *civil list*. The officers of the revenue, instead of minding their duty, employed themselves in election-jobbing, as the most effectual recommendation to their patron.—A total relaxation of discipline took place among Mr. P.'s troops. — Collectors, might embezzle his Majesty's cash, and even send up false returns for their receipts, to apologize for, not answering an acquittance.—If

they could influence a *burgess*, or command two or three votes, they were esteemed excellent officers, and received the thanks of the first Commissioner.

Nothing can be more absurd than to see a set of men affecting to be patriots by exclaiming against every thing that tends to improve the revenue. They must know that they ultimately distress their country by this conduct; the civil and military list must be kept up for the sake of the whole; and some gratifications are necessary, not only as rewards to merit, but to alleviate the misfortunes of families fallen from their rank and affluence, who would otherwise be reduced to obscurity and indigence.

The greatest insult, and indeed imposition, on the public, is, to see those who already enjoy preferment, and those who expect it, distressing their country by an affectation of virtue—tho' they brandish the sword of opposition with one hand, the supplicating palm of the other is extended; like the *spiritual* eye of a Swadling preacher, up-lifted to Heaven in a fervour of devotion, whilst the *carnal* one is cast down, to count the shillings, and compute the *godly gains* extorted from a deluded audience.

Whoever

Whoever examines the pension list, will find that no families have loaded their country so unmercifully as our present bawling patriots. They even obtained pensionary favours for *years*, that the prejudice they had done their country might not cease with their lives, and that they might shew their ingratitude to government without injuring themselves.

The public, caught with the mere sound of their present professions, do not see that the national revenues have been mortgaged, and are likely to be again mortgaged, to supply the insatiable demand of those pampered patriots on a second conversion. This we may expect, whenever their own noise, and the public credulity, shall raise them to sufficient consequence.

June 25th, 1771.

VECTIGAL.

Q

NUMBER IX.

BROGHILL'S ANSWER

TO

SINDERCOMBE.

YOUR letter gave me some satisfaction—
not that I admit the authenticity of your
G 4 facts,

facts, or admire the force of your arguments, not that I think the public will be better enabled to judge of the measures of government, by the communication of your sentiments, or that the Lord Lieutenant will be reformed by the severity of your animadversions :—but, as a well-wisher to the person and administration of his excellency, I am pleased to find that a writer of no despicable talents, is obliged to resort for the materials of invective, to the stale refuse of news-paper anecdotes, and the exploded calumnies of vulgar detraction. You have collected the remnants of both, with a malicious industry, and tricked them out in all the tinsel of antithesis, and the second-hand frippery of imitated periods. You have kept a reverend eye upon that great Homer of defamation, Junius; and, like your master have created a monster of your own imagination, in order to shew how ingeniously you can rail at it.

There is something very inconsistent in the advice with which you begin your letter, that Lord Townshend should think it *worth his while* (your own elegant expression) to deliver down unimpaired to posterity, a name distinguished by the virtue of his ancestors, when, at the same time, you do every thing to prevent the benefit

fit of your own admonition, at once throwing dirt upon his reputation, and warning him to take care it may not be sullied.

A writer whose principal aim, like yours, is to rail, must trace up every political event to a corrupted source. Accordingly in rejecting some pretended causes of L—d T——d's appointment, your very candour is no less malicious than your sagacity, in fixing upon that which appears to you to be the true one. The interest of families is generally the same, and a great station, obtained by the just reputation of brothers, is seldom held upon ignominious conditions, or used for unworthy purposes.

Full of the best intentions towards the country he was to govern, he opened his first session with the promise of a law to secure the independence of judges; and why that promise was not fulfilled in its utmost extent, must be asked, not on this side of the water, but perhaps of a quondam minister, whose jesuitical politics seldom had any higher view than to secure his own department from encroachments, by impeding the business and diminishing the credit of every other.—The public, however, have little to regret, as no inconveniencies have been known to result from this disappointment,

and the attainment of ten such laws, to secure what was never invaded, could not be considered as equivalent to that which was never expected, though so often demanded, the limitation of parliaments.

It is difficult to determine upon what authority you so confidently assert, that his E—y never intended, that is, never wished to give either. Is it the shrewdness of your own conjecture? or has it been suggested to you by that gentleman of *popular manners*, whom you represent so honourably contending against government, in its own armour, and with its own weapons, at the head of his revenue-legion of collectors, surveyors, waiters, searchers, packers, and guagers! He, indeed, might have told you, that, as to himself, he never wished success to the limitation bill, notwithstanding his pretended zeal for it; that he had found more than one Chief Governor, on whose sympathy he could repose the insincerity of his bosom, and knowing little more than the station of Lord Townshend, concluded that would operate as it had done before, for the gratification of his private views, which were generally inconsistent with his public declarations. Were these authorities however more powerful, the stubborn fact would not bend before them. We have the law, and the people have paid the

honest

honest tribute of their gratitude to him, who disdained an under-hand stipulation to obstruct it, whose name will appear with unrivalled lustre in the records of parliament, and whose memory will be revered while there is any sense of independence, or any abhorrence of oppression, in the yeomanry of Ireland. You next tell us, that the success of the augmentation was the principal object of the administration; and you impute the miscarriage to his want of management, though you enumerate a catalogue of difficulties, which made success almost impossible. Thus hurried along by a rage to criminate, you either confound the charge with the justification, or (which is more likely) you suppose the incautious reader may do it for you.

Some circumstances unfavourable to the measure he could not foresee, and others, from a regard to his own dignity, he could not wish to prevent. Of the first sort were, the closing the committee of supply, (which could not be kept open till the enabling act, previously necessary for the augmentation of the forces, was passed by the legislature of England) and the clamours raised against the army there, and in America, for interposing at the desire of the magistracy in both countries, to sup-

press riots, and restore order, for which no civil authority was found sufficient. Of the second, was the clause of dissolution in the limitation bill, agreeable to the true spirit of the law, as such the object of the people's wish, and therefore entitled to the recommendation of government.—But the great difficulty, and the great offence of all, remains to be accounted for, the alienation of parties from government. The public have long known this was the real cause of opposition, but till you appeared, no one was found hardy enough to impute it as the crime of administration. To see the business of the nation conducted without the venal concurrence of a rapacious confederacy, had long been the wish and the despair of the people. Those who revered the dignity of the crown, were sorry to see it degraded by the supineness or timidity of its representatives. Too many administrations had been distinguished by events of no greater importance than new accessions of influence to connections already over-grown, and the shameful barter of the favours of government, to secure the repose, or to gratify the avarice of the governor. No wonder then, when a new spirit of activity and disinterestedness appeared at the Castle, that new maxims should be adopted, and new pretences held out
by

by the disappointed brokers in parliamentary traffic — without changing their principles, they suddenly changed their conduct, and united all their strength to harass him whom they could neither seduce nor intimidate. The well disciplined cohorts of L—n—r and S—h—n, fell into the ranks at the first tap of the drum; and the motley bands of P——y were cajoled and menaced into obedience. A body of independent irregulars joined the standard, not the cause of opposition, and after disputing every inch of the ground, victory was decided in their favour by an inconsiderable superiority. It required no small degree of spirit to look this formidable alliance in the face, and nothing but the greatest circumspection could have prevented its being stronger.

So far your capital objection to him as a statesman, is without foundation; yet admitting, as I do, that the success of the augmentation was his principal object, I should be at a loss how to defend his sufficiency, had he again been baffled; but, to the confusion of your own argument, you are obliged to acknowledge, that in this measure he has succeeded; and let the voice of truth tell you how;—with such peculiar felicity, as to give
at

at once new vigour to the crown, and new security to the people ; to unite in its support the real patriot by his principle, and the false one by his pretence, to leave even jealousy without a fear, and ingenuity without one colourable objection. But it seems you are as much offended with the new modification of the measure, and the terms upon which it was obtained in the second session, as at its not being obtained at all in the former. You are hurt to see majesty descending from the throne, and capitulating with the people. I have never understood that an amicable agreement between the king and the subject, for the mutual benefit of both, has been ever considered as a degradation of royalty.—The crown has often made exchanges of a similar nature, surrendering prerogative for revenue ; and some of the greatest improvements of the constitution have arisen from such a commerce. Had his majesty, or his representative, meanly stipulated with *individuals* for the support of his measures, and, according to what seems to be the great mystery of your politics, promised or bribed them into compliance, the King might then indeed be said to have descended from his throne and to have prostituted the royal dignity.—Your prosecution against
him

him as a statesman being closed, you proceed to arraign him as a senator and a soldier. An impartial account of his conduct in both these relations, would be his best panegyric and your fullest refutation. His ample fortune and splendid expectations, his voluntary engagement in an unlucrative and perillous profession; the spirit with which he relinquished, and with which he resumed it; the testimony of the generals he served under, and of the armies he commanded, have all contributed to set a seal upon his character, and are such memorials to his honour, as the most ingenious malice will never be able to efface.

You are grossly ignorant of, or you grossly misrepresent the motives of his parliamentary conduct. He patronized the militia bill, and and the Duke of Cumberland was no friend to it. This was the cause of their misunderstanding. He preferred the duty he owed his country to every other consideration, and discharged it faithfully, though the temporary disappointment of his military ambition, and the frowns of a prince, were to be the forfeit. When that prince discountenanced a measure so congenial to the English constitution, he opposed Mr. T—sh—d, not Mr. T—sh—d him.—As to the rest, I will not disturb the
little

little triumph of your fancy, but rather thank you for that play of words, which have led you from things to sound, has spared me the trouble of an answer to an accusation too frivolous to deserve one.

There remain but two particulars more to be noticed, and then I shall follow you to a conclusion. L—d T——d's correction of Col. L—tt—l by a political bravo, is no less false than his launching the thunder of a reverſionary challenge at Dr. L——s. The mentioning Col. L—tt—l's name in the H. of Commons was metely accidental, and, from the circumstances of the time and the occasion, could not poſſibly have happened from ſuggeſtion or preconcert. It is in vain to refer you to all the members of the houſe who were preſent, for you knew the falſehood before you publiſhed it. As to the venerable infirm member, his own petulance drew upon him a reprimand which his vanity choſe to interpret into a challenge, yet L—d T——d's words bore no ſuch meaning, nor were ſo underſtood by any perſon preſent.

At your concluſion you labour hard in the affected ſtrains of ungeneine pathetic, to give a mournful deſcription of deceaſed merit at the expence of the living, and your impotence
 ſeems

seems to encrease in proportion to your efforts: *disease* and *death*, triumphs and lamentations, funeral obsequies, a venerable matron, fiends and heroes, Greeks and Romans, graves and monuments, are all grouped in the gloomy picture.

While the yet undecided fate of Canada and of a British army were depending, the general who succeeded to the command, had no leisure to cull such flowers of rhetoric to deck the grave of the departed conqueror; but, being himself a soldier, he paid a more judicious tribute to the merit of his colleague, by publicly testifying that his intrepidity and skilful operations had ensured the victory.

I must spend a few words more to detect another calumny, which has bashfully retired from your text into an humble note, where you accuse him of usurping General Monckton's province, and ignorantly or arrogantly signing the capitulation. After the death of General Wolfe, General Monckton was carried on board a ship in the river, wounded, as it was thought mortally; and the command devolving upon Lord Townshend, it was his duty and his province to sign the capitulation.

Having now done with your letter, allow me to say a word or two to your person, and

to guess at your character by the marks of it in your composition.

You are not the friend of the community in general, for you wish to see all power engrossed by a few individuals: you are not the friend of Irish liberty, or of English government, for when you wish the tone of prerogative may never be relaxed, you wish it at the hazard of the people's affections and at the expence of the constitution of Ireland. Having told you what you are not, let me now tell you what you are. You are the friend of successful corruption, and an enemy to Lord Townshend, because he does not practise the art of corrupting. You are the admirer and humble imitator of Junius, and the fellow-labourer in the great harvest of sedition. The signature you have chosen is perhaps expressive of your disposition, take care that it may not be an omen of your catastrophe; since you would leave behind you, a reputation at best but infamously ambiguous;—to be resolved by your friends into an assassin, and by your enemies into a suicide.

March 3d, 1770.

Z

BROGHILL.

N U M.

NUMBER X.

Scis Proteu, scis ipse; neque est te fallere cuiquam,
Sed tu define velle. VIRG.

To J. P———Y, Esq.

S I R,

ALTHOUGH the late rapid declension of your importance, or, in the words of one of your most subservient devotees, “the piteous condition of a sinking man, may seem to claim an exemption from the *freedom* of the present times, which spare none connected with public life;”—yet, as you have been the principal cause of that *freedom*, so injurious to many respectable characters, I think myself at liberty, from facts which are in my possession, to continue my examination into your conduct.

When greater duties are not neglected, (if any can be greater) it is certainly no unworthy occupation, to rescue the reputations of good men from the persecutions of a licentious press—that worst, that *only* tyrant of the age we live in;—to stop, if possible, the tear which your indelicate suggestions have forced down
the

the cheek of innocence; and to retort the scandal on the most silly and presumptuous demagogue, that ever attempted to govern a kingdom.—Let me, also, teach the man, whose ordinary private qualities have been so long exaggerated into virtues, to apologize for his public incapacity;—that to have retired with gratitude and temper, when he *flung* up the *reins*, had been the first and best service he could have done his countrymen, and his family.

There seems to be two considerations, sir, which have not been attended to, by those you employ to arrange your materials against L—d L——s, but which will naturally occur to every reader who peruses your narrative, even as a mere novel.—The first is, What degree of influence you could justly claim over a gentleman, who having supported you so many years, is now possessed of an extensive property, and powerful interest, and, in that situation, owes at least some attention to his rank and public conduct. Doubtless he has received marks of your friendship—yet still you should recollect how amply you have experienced, and profited by his support. Here, surely, your advocates must allow the obligation reciprocal;—if not, produce, if
you

you can, one of those long lists you annually spread before the British administration, and with which you occasionally intimidated the C. Governors here. I call on you, sir, to produce any one of these rolls of parliament, wherein L—d L——s's family have not stood foremost, as your strenuous friends and supporters, to whom you were already so much indebted for the uncommon power you held in this kingdom, and might still have held, had you bestowed upon your friends a fair and decent share of your confidence, and adhered to that degree of moderation, you affected to prescribe to yourself. These are truths, sir, too well known for you to deny. Your peevish, ill-founded arrangements of others, has, in spite of their private affection, extorted a degree of justification from them, which fully confirms the very light opinion the world had long entertained of your candour and love of truth.

You had no more right to charge L—d L——s with desertion, than the government with severity : the one you had long neglected, the other you had always betrayed.—If you will rank your sincerest advocates among your hacks, and not respect them as your friends ;

—if they are at be summoned to a moment's warning, to drudge from the purposes of men who have ever been your most zealous opponents, and are to be marshalled against principles, by which your family have long stood and flourished; give me leave to tell Mr. P——by, (though he be now the standard of Irish independence) that he exacts an obedience which no liberal mind should either submit to, or require. Though you might term such a degree of prostitution, friendship, at the Constitution Club, you would, sir, condemn it at the Castle.

Had it pleased nature to have bestowed on you one talent that could be deemed an ingredient for government, you had never preferred an insidious convention with orator F——d, to an honourable intercourse with so powerful a friend as L——d L——s; or the endless perplexities of Sir L——s O'B——n, to the punctual discharge of the duties of your station.

I would farther enquire from your agents, what degree of submission, on public points, can alone fulfill L——d L——s's engagements to Mr. P——y? Is the maintaining a distinction, which tends directly to a breach
be-

between the crown, and the people of this kingdom, to be the test of his gratitude?

In that case, L—d L——s would be both unfortunate and singular in his situation, if he was bound by a more implicit *allegiance* to Mr. P——y, than either that gentleman or his new ally, the D—e of L——r, acknowledge to the crown; from which they have received more obligations than any subject since the bigotted and capricious reign of James I.

As popularity seems now to be your first object, you may suppose it an excellent expedient to conciliate your injured friends, by imputing the late disappointment of your *patriotic* projects, to L—d L——s; yet, be assured, sir, it would have been some mark of wisdom, to have submitted patiently to a catastrophe, hastened by your own want of principle and understanding;—and *then* to have reconciled yourself to retirement and obscurity, for which your *genius* seems peculiarly adapted.

You have alledged, it seems, to palliate the deserting from your friends, “my little bark
“can no longer live in the storm of the
“present times; I can attend to nothing but
“my own preservation.”—Be it so:—I do not wish to aggravate your distress, yet I know
not

not under what example you can find a sanction for your selfishness. The Dutch mariner, 'tis true, abandons the vessel at the approach of danger, but the *captain* is the last man who steps into the shallop:—you, sir, not only forsake the crew who embarked with you, but you leave them with imprecations; and when you see them perishing, your last command is, not to accept of assistance.

The world, sir, had some reason to expect a conduct more corresponding, even to the affectation of such social qualities, as you pretend to;—nay, to your last exhortations and professions to all around you, from the chair — A series of absurdities has now reduced you to the humiliating state of becoming a *retainer* of L——er house, and an abject suppliant for a county address at K——are, when neither your own personal weight, nor the rhetorical *menances* of your *false* ally, could procure that empty compliment at Kilkenny.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

May 4th, 1771

VERAX

NUM.

NUMBER XI.

Hi motus animorum, & hæc certamina tanta,
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt.

VIRG.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

SIR,

THE ignorance and perplexity of our financiers might induce an unexperienced person to think, that the national accounts depended on algebraic calculation — Every question proposed by administration, though clear and simple in itself, is rendered obscure and unintelligible, by the harangues of some half-witted orators. The precision and pointed eloquence of Hutchinson, cannot rescue the House from the endless perplexities of Sir William M—y—re, and the obscure elaborate comments of Sir Lu—s O'B—n. The candour and moderation of Mr. Malone; his superior abilities, which never excited envy, because they were never exerted with

unmannered insolence, to obtain an ungenerous triumph over the weak and defenceless:—yet this distinguished character cannot protect him from the illiberal invectives of the Kilkenny orator, who seems determined to make his countenance a true index to his heart. The Attorney-General is justly rewarded by his rhetorical client: personal abuse is the coin with which Mr. F——d fees his lawyers. Few men, perhaps, know mankind better than Mr. T——ll; though he was deceived in the orator, and is justly punished for his want of sagacity.

Last Saturday's proceedings furnish the strongest proof of the temper and principles of our patriots—Procrastination and delay are their objects. The servants of the crown agreed to every measure which had the least tendency to public utility—The arrears of half-pay, and officers widows, were struck off, and the only point in debate, was to prevent any injustice to *particulars*, which might arise from this innovation.

To give the reader a clear idea of the subject, I shall insert a short abstract of the national account, as it *then* stood.

Debt

Debt at Lady-day, 1771, by report of the Committee of Accounts,	788,474 11 4½
To which was added, so much disposed of by address of the House of Commons, in session 1769, being a balance due from Mr. Prat, late deputy vice-treasurer,	17,994 1 5½
Dismissed collectors,	14,060 14 10½
	<hr/>
	£820,529 7 7½

£1094, a saving on the army, was deducted from the debt in the public accounts, by the Committee to whom they were referred.

Struck off.

Arrear of pensions,	2,514 8 4½
— of officers widows	24,237 5 1½
— of half-pay	11,457 14 1
	<hr/>
	£ 38,209 7 7½
	782,320 0 0½
	<hr/>
	£820,529 7 7½

Funded debt remaining undrawn at Lady-day, 1771.	725,000 0 0
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On this ground, the Attorney-General proposed the following resolution, "That the debt of the nation at Lady-day, 1771, amounted to the sum of 782,320*l*."

Mr. Hufley moved for another resolution, "That the *funded* debt of the nation at Lady-day, 1771, only amounted to 725,000*l*." If this had passed, the balance between the two sums, (57,320*l*.) which was unavoidably expended in support of his Majesty's government, would not be included in the national debt;—and though every article of expence, which had occasioned the *exceedings* in the last two years, had been already laid before the Committee of Accounts; yet, if this absurd motion had been carried in the affirmative, the Committee of Supply must have *resolved* itself into a Committee of Accounts, to wrangle *once more* over these articles! Numberless precedents were produced, to shew that the Attorney-General's motion was parliamentary and proper. The patriots, unable to answer their opponents arguments, moved for the question of adjournment, and divided upon it; but finding every effort ineffectual, and that a spirited majority were determined to do their duty, they at last retired in despair, and gave up the point.

I should not omit mentioning a debate, which ensued on a resolution being proposed, for applying 9000*l.* to the credit of the nation. (returned in the arrears.) This was the remaining balance of a large sum, *appropriated* by act of parliament, to erect batteries for the security and defence of the harbour of Corke, and to purchase arms for the militia.

Lord Townshend, it seems, in his tour through the southern parts of the kingdom, had observed the present defenceless state of the harbour of Corke. The money formerly granted, was *jobbed* away in building a fort and batteries, where they could be of no service. The fort has fallen into ruins, by the *firing of the guns on rejoicing days!*—yet there is an island in the mouth of the harbour, where batteries might be erected, which would in some degree protect the trade of that opulent and commercial city. This idea his Excellency adopted—An estimate had been made out, and it appeared, that the intended plan might be executed for 7500*l.* Mr. Ponsonby, the late Speaker, opposed the measure; very consistently, indeed, because it was not a jobb.—“He *talked* of 150,000*l.* being absolutely requisite for the work.” His son, one of the representatives of the city of Corke, like-

wife exerted his hereditary eloquence against the essential interest of that city which had chosen him. Mr. F——d *digressed* in his usual manner, and peremptorily insisted, “ That
 “ there was no occasion for fortifications in
 “ this kingdom, as he very well knew, that
 “ France would never invade us. The idea
 “ was preposterous and absurd.” To shew his
 “ skill in geography, he said, a French fleet
 “ must sail *up the English Channel*, and force
 “ its way through the British fleet, in order to
 “ land in the *southern or western* parts of this
 “ kingdom!—That there was no reason to
 “ believe that *Conflans* intended to land troops
 “ on our coast, though *Thuret* (who was to
 “ act in concert with him) had landed in the
 “ North.—That he would never believe it.—
 “ That if the French intended to *strike at the*
 “ *vitals of our constitution*, they should embark
 “ at Calais, and land at Dover !”

You may think, Mr. Wagstaffe, that I misrepresent his mode of reasoning—I appeal to a numerous audience for the truth of what I advance. In short, this celebrated orator often put me in mind of the BARBER’S BOY, in the farce of the Upholsterer.

Sir Lu——s O’B——n dropped his usual grave and sententious address, and affected to be facetious.

ectious. Sir W. M—y—re was treated by Mr. Scot, like the ass in the fable, for mistaking his talents, and mimicking the tricks of a lap-dog; this gentle correction may be of infinite service to both these knights.

C——l B——rt——n spoke in a manly, spirited style: his arguments were well received by the House, and had weight in deciding the question.

I am, sir, yours,

November 26, 1771.

Q

A SENATOR.

NUMBER XII.

Iratus Chremes, tumido delitigat Ore.

HOR.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

SIR,

DOCTOR Swift, in his “Short View of the State of Ireland,” includes the *non-residence* of a chief governor among the list of national grievances.—To remedy this, and many other inconveniences, the celebrated Lord Chatham, proposed a new political system, which was instantly adopted, and happily

brought to perfection by the present Lord Lieutenant;—yet this very measure has been the cause of all our complaints. The powerful aristocracy which had so long reigned without controul, could not be to relinquish their power; like pirates they immediately hung out false colours, to deceive the people, and assemble them under the specious standard of patriotism.—To restore *Independence* to the House of Commons has been represented as a design to enslave the nation. To attempt governing the kingdom without Lords Justices, was esteemed high treason against the constitution. The reverence usually paid those mighty lords, often made me recollect the custom of leading an ass into church, and singing an anthem in his praise; yet when Europe had emerged from barbarism, an attempt to abolish this ridiculous custom occasioned many riots among the bigotted rabble.

The proceedings of the house furnish the strongest proofs of these inveterate prejudices—The nation is said to be *bankrupt* and ruined, sinking under oppression, loaded with taxes, cursed with a venal and corrupt administration, who profusely lavish the public money in unnecessary expences. An honourable member, who seems to have tuned his voice to the dole-

ful notes of a passing bell, lately preached a prolix funeral sermon over his country.—Ireland was ruined because—but I learn to imitate the Kilkenny orator, who substitutes virulent invective and personal defamation, for precision in argument, and candor in debate.—Mr. H—ff—y's Attic elegance may apologize for his satire;—but the premeditated joke, the forced conceit, the aukward raillery, are Mr. Flood's peculiarities, and distinguish him as much as *distortion*, vociferation, and a *vicious* pronunciation, that would even disgrace the *Ciceronian* society.

After the ablest champions of *opposition* had exhausted their rhetoric, and exhibited their mistaken inaccurate calculations to gain the applause of the gallery, they were answered by the Prime Serjeant in a style and manner that adds grace to a dry and tiresome subject, and renders it agreeable. The patriots were shewn to be weak reasoners and miserable financiers, and not in the least qualified for a seat at either the *old* or a *new* board. The inconsistency of their argument was evident. In the year 1769—under Lord Townshend's administration, the trade of the kingdom it seems was annihilated, because the revenue had decreased £59,000.—Yet in 1761, un-

der the mild, wise, and economical Mr. P—ns—by, a deficiency of £ 81,000 had spread no alarm. The exports (our only beneficial commerce) have encreased ;—yet if we were to credit these sage politicians, the nation was undone, because the treasury was not enriched by duties which arise on our imports. These new commercial principles are not to be found in D'Avenant or Petty ; the public spirited financiers may have picked them up from sir W—ll—in M—yne, or—a writing master.

However, the debates yesterday in the house, proved the legality and expediency of the New Board, beyond a possibility of doubt. The Kilkenny orator, moved for the following resolution, “ That the House would not allow
 “ any sums applied to the payment of new Com-
 “ missioners of Excise, but should credit the
 “ nation with their salaries.” The illegality of this motion was pointed out, as it was directly contrary to a positive act of parliament, which both empowered the king to appoint a New Board ; and also, provided for the additional expence. Mr. F. then *modestly* withdrew his motion, and candidly apologized for introducing it, by acknowledging his ignorance of the Excise Laws ! He then proposed another resolution, which was only a little defi-

cient in sense and grammar: however, by the assistance of Mr. Malone's judicious remarks, it was at last reduced to English, and shaped into consistency. The purport of it was, "that the House would refuse their consent to any alteration in the present Excise Laws, which might carry into effect the division of the Board, &c."—Mr. Mason immediately perceived the absurdity of agreeing to such a resolution, and to shew it in the strongest light, he proposed this amendment, "however beneficial such an alteration might be for collecting the public revenue." In the course of the debate, M. F. exhibited his usual oratorical powers: he compared the friends of Government to a PHALANX, which penetrated like a WEDGE through the loose ranks of independence.—Metaphors, and figurative expressions, introduced with elegance and propriety have a peculiar beauty; But Mr. F——d despises such puerilities: his inaccuracies, his blunders, his mistakes, are owing to the sublimity of his genius: he resembles the ancient philosopher who often fell into a ditch, while he was studying astronomy, and contemplating the stars.—Even Potter's Antiquities might teach him to distinguish between a PHALANX and a WEDGE, and not use these terms as *synonymous*,

in a finished oration. However, as Mr. F. seems *angry* at a friendly hint you formerly gave him, to vary his studies from Demosthenes to Salmon's Grammar, I shall say no more on the subject.

Sir George Macartney, in a sensible manly tone of reasoning, defended the measures of administration. M. F. had asserted, "that it was an indignity and insult offered the House, to appoint a New Board, in contradiction and defiance of their * *late resolution*." Sir George proved, how inexplicit, indecisive, and nugatory, this boasted resolution was; it was entirely *retrospective*, and could not by any construction *extend* to the *future*. He justly termed it an *inuendo* resolution. It was neither addressed to the King, or the Lord Lieutenant. The House ordered the Speaker to lay it before his Excellency, and he told them he would transmit it to his Majesty; but at the same time informed them, he had received his Majesty's orders for dividing the Boards.

Though he gave the House that information, they still hoped the King would *revoke* or *cancel* those letters. For it is universally believed, that the patriots chief objections were

* That seven Commissioners had *hitherto* been sufficient.

not grounded on the inexpediency of the measure, but arose from *personal* pique and disappointment. They could not bear to think, that gentlemen, who had supported government, and acted wisely, should be distinguished by their sovereign's favour, when some of their leaders had been dismissed for folly and ingratitude: the contrast was too strong and humiliating.——They also had another excellent reason for opposing the present arrangement.——As they *probably* intend supporting a future administration, they meant to keep the New Board as a reserve, to be composed of their friends, and therefore cannot forgive Lord Townshend, for cutting off this *dernier resource*.

It is evident to a demonstration, that Mr. P———'s chief aim was to establish a new board for the provision of his friends. In his virtuous administration, and in the first year of his present Majesty's reign, the act passed, which has facilitated the execution of this long projected scheme, *sanctioned* by three *particular* acts of parliament.——The expence at the utmost will not exceed 12,000*l.* per ann.——and the gain to the revenue will probably be five times as much; for it is well known, that the inland excise of Ireland is now less than it

was a century ago; and yet the people, and consequently the consumption, is nearly doubled.

No one exclaimed so loudly against the expence of the board as the oeconomic Mr. J ——— n P ——— n s ——— by. He *prophe-
sied* it would occasion a land tax, (which he has taken care his tenants must pay) and also, that the measure itself was impracticable, without a new clause in the act.—It is really pleasant to observe this gentleman in his new character of an oeconomist.—The man who had for so many years loaded the country with unnecessary sine-cures—he who had swelled the charges of the revenue in incidents and salaries, from 69,651l. 15s. 2d. to 114,714l. 4s. 3d. annually.—This insidious management of the revenue rendered government dependent on the Irish aristocracy: consequently the patriotic prostitution of it, became a fundamental maxim in their politics. New taxes were levied on the people to supply the deficiency; and the odium was thrown on government, by these *conscientious* gentlemen.

When Mr. P ——— n s ——— by presided at the Board, Capt. Mercer was permitted to build as many boats as he pleased. He built one, called the *Hibernia*, for Mr. Glover. Her *outfit* cost 4000l. Her annual expence was 6000l.

6000*l.* though she never made a capture. When Mr. Beresford, and Sir W. Osborne, were appointed Commissioners, they thought it their duty to enquire into the matter. They found she was totally unfit for any purpose. To make an experiment, however, they ordered her to block up the port of Rush; she did so; at low water, the smugglers all failed out, the *Hibernia* was lying dry, and could not float 'till high water. Captain M—r—er, on being examined, was obliged to give in a report in writing, that she was unserviceable. Here was a *dead* expence of 4000*l.* incurred at first, besides 6000*l.* per annum; which is above half the sum the new board can possibly cost. This is *only* one example of Mr. P—ns—by's oeconomy.

The last motion proposed in the H—se, could only proceed from a head stored with such *trumpery* ideas, as Mr. B—ry B—ry's. "that the Commissioners of the Excise, should be suspended from their functions in parliament." This motion was treated with cold contempt. Mr. Bushe's arguments on the subject, were masterly, spirited, and ingenious. This Mr. Wagstaffe, was the last effort of Mr. P. and an expiring faction; of a faction whose last efforts against the establishment of a
new

new board, may be compared to the convulsive struggles of a *headless* fly, that seems for a moment to acquire strength from the very wound that destroys it.

Yours, &c.

February 15th, 1772.

Q

SENATOR.

N U M B E R X I I I .

Et sermone opus est, modo tristi, sæpe jocosò.

HOR.

To JEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

S I R,

I Observe with concern, that you entertain the public on subjects of national importance, seldomer than usual. 'Tho' ridicule has not the weight of serious argument, yet, perhaps, you suppose it more embarrassing to your patriotic antagonists; like MARIUS's javelins, which by breaking and sticking in the enemies shields, contributed more to his victory over the Gauls, than stronger and more piercing weapons.

You

You have taken no notice of the most judicious and best calculated bill for the improvement of the revenue, the ease of the subject, and the benefit of the fair trader, that was ever introduced into the House of Commons. The very objections to this bill proved its utility. It is scarcely credible, sir, that those gentlemen, who in the beginning of the session, complained so loudly of the heavy expence of *New Boords*, and of the deficiency of the revenue, should make its *eventual* increase, the grounds of their opposition. The clause, “ contained “ in an act passed in the 14th and 15th Charles “ II, which entitled our merchants to a draw- “ back of six pence a gallon, on rum first “ landed in England,” was evidently designed to restrain our commerce, by preventing a direct communication with America. About the year 1757, the merchants first discovered, and availed themselves of this clause, which reduced the revenue above 50,000l. per annum. This is an experimental proof of the utility of repealing it: besides, it will induce our merchants to trade directly with America, without using the medium of England. The great trading city of Corke, has already expressed its approbation of this judicious measure, equally beneficial to our commerce and finances.

Let us now examine the weighty arguments urged against repealing this clause. “By an increase of the hereditary revenue, says Mr. For the crown may support the civil and military establishments, without the aid of the additional duties; and consequently the absolute necessity of calling frequent parliaments will cease.” This reasoning neither specious, nor solid, is easily refuted. The utmost increase of the revenue, by every judicious regulation introduced into the new bill, cannot exceed 100,000*l.* on the highest computation. The loan for the current service of two years, is 200,000*l.* Even supposing that 100,000*l.* will be sufficient next session, the *expected rise* in the revenue, will just supply the (otherwise unavoidable) deficiency, and prevent the prejudicial increase of the national debt. But our patriots use every art to deceive the public, by misrepresenting the true and obvious tendency of every useful regulation, adopted by the servants of the crown. Those gentlemen seem conscious of the badness of their cause, and pay an involuntary compliment to the present administration, by substituting subtlety and obscurity in their arguments, instead of perspicuity and precision; as shopkeepers darken their windows, to screen the damaged

damaged goods, which they expose to sale, from too strong a light.—The candid and impartial are now convinced, that the late deficiencies in the revenue, may be rationally accounted for, without recurring to that patriotic origin of every distress—the prorogation! Let us leave that stale and hacknied *solution* to a set of men, who by a strange association of ideas cannot declaim on the national grievances or calamities without the aid of this popular topic; as the young gentleman mentioned by Mr. Locke, could not dance without the assistance of an old trunk, placed in a corner of his room.

The clause inserted in the revenue bill, to prevent all persons from keeping twelve gallon stills in their houses, except for medicinal waters, or experiments in chemistry, will prove the best check on the great consumption of spirituous liquors, which ruin both the health and morals of the lower ranks of people. Sir W—m O—b—ne asserted, that there were at least five thousand stills in the kingdom, which furnished four hundred thousand gallons of whiskey at a reduced price, as it paid no excise, by which the crown and the fair trader were equally injured.

Nothing could be more frivolous than what fell from some of our celebrated orators

on this subject. They considered man in the abstract, “ as a being intitled to distil whiskey, “ and drink it without being restrained by the “ laws of civil society, which are an arbitrary “ encroachment on the rights and privileges of “ the subject.” By a parity of reasoning, all mankind should be again reduced to their original condition, and the steps taken by government, to suppress the northern insurgents, (though solicited by the self-constituted assertors of liberty) may be deemed an infraction of the Magna Charta of nature. However, *that* restriction was at last adopted by a considerable majority. It is to be hoped, sir, that we shall soon see our finances flourish under a resident Vice-roy, and jobbing banished from every department of the state. The many excellent acts introduced into the House this session, to regulate our interior police, and provide for our domestic security, when passed into laws, and strictly executed, may be the happy means of civilizing a country, not yet wholly emerged from barbarism.

The people, taught by experience, and repeated examples, will no longer confide in a set of fallacious patriots, whom Mr. Sc—tt justly compared to deceiving empirics, who both create *the disease, and live by it*. They will judge

judge of the conduct of their representatives on fixed principles. They will be ashamed to reverence the same man in the character of a patriot, whom they lately execrated as a courtier; like the ignorant devotees at Rome, who now worship Jupiter, by the name of St. Peter, and cling round his knees with devotion, since he has been baptized and converted by the Pope, from a Heathen image into a Christian Saint.

I am, sir, yours,

March 21st, 1772.

A SENATOR.

NUMBER XIV.

La regie, est l'administration d'un bon pere de famille, qui leve lui même avec économie, & avec ordre ses revenus.

L'ESPRIT des LOIX.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

SIR,

IT is a custom among the Dutch, to burn a great quantity of their imported spices, in order to enhance the value of the remaining part, by producing an artificial scarcity. Mr. P—ns—by certainly acted on the same principle

ple (when he was premier) in sinking the hereditary revenue, and reducing government to the necessity of giving his friends and dependents an advanced price for their votes.—The Revenue-bill, sir, tho' replete with so many wise and just regulations, was obstinately, and violently opposed by him, and all those who are subject to implicit obedience, by servilely acting under their selfish and ambitious leaders.

At the beginning of this session, the pernicious tendency of the projected loan, was displayed in all the glowing colours of oratory. It was prophesied in the desponding accents of despair, that “ it would ruin this impoverished, “ distressed, exhausted country, by drawing “ the cash out of the traders hands, and throwing it into the funds.” Now, when a rational scheme, pregnant with national advantage is proposed, the cry is changed ; “ the “ crown will be rendered independent, and “ no more parliaments will be held in this “ kingdom.” Yet, if the rise in the revenue answers our most sanguine expectations, it will only preclude the necessity of *involving us more in debt*.—Mr. F. ingeniously observed, “ that the establishment of two *useless boards*, “ might now become *public benefits*, as they “ would prevent a *redundancy* in the treasury, “ which

“*which* might overturn the constitution.” — That gentleman possesses the peculiar art of inspiring his friends with a coincidence of sentiment. They unanimously agreed with him in the justness of his observation, and are now determined to accept of *new places*, the first opportunity; since that great casuist and politician has convinced them, that they may promote the welfare of their country, by gratifying their own inclinations.

Let us now examine what has been the chief object of Irish patriotism?—To reduce his Majesty’s revenue, and to compel the King’s representative to buy off the opposition of a few turbulent and busy men, who, whilst they hold out specious professions of attachment to their sovereign’s person and government, were striking at the very *means* of his establishment, and involving him and his people in one common distress. Happily for this country, a resident Vice-roy has at last checked that pernicious system of policy, which so long actuated the *Irish cabinet*.

It may be useful here to submit a few observations to the candid reader, on the fallacious reasoning which has been artfully employed to misrepresent the true and obvious tendency of the clause, inserted in the act to continue the
Revenue-

Revenue-bill, from June, 1774, *to the end of the then next session of parliament.* The gentlemen in opposition have said, “that if the crown did not think proper to call a parliament at the *usual time*, the hereditary revenue might be collected by this bill, though the additional duties would cease.” This is not a fact;—for the only part of the hereditary revenue included in the act, is the *licences*, and the *moiety* of tobacco seized; consequently *that* bill has for its immediate, and principal object, the *additional duties*; and as they are *only* granted from session to session, the power of the commons over *the national purse* would still remain in full force, though the clause had made *that* act perpetual. The Revenue-bill derives its chief weight and efficacy (in respect to the crown) from the act which grants his Majesty the *additional duties*, and without them it would be almost nugatory.

The *prerogations* in 1753, and 1769, were likewise held up, *in terrorem*, by our declaiming orators; and it was plausibly urged, “that limiting the bill to four years, would be a proper check on *that* invidious branch of the prerogative.” Sir William Osborne, with his usual knowledge and precision, exposed the futility of this argument, by observing that the
 acts

acts which granted the hereditary revenue to Charles II. had also provided for the collection of it. By the old book of rates, our Western exports paid three per cent. though at present they do not pay above *one*. By the *Revenue-bill*, the duties on all stuffs used for bleaching and dying, are taken off;—new regulations adopted, to encourage our staple manufacture, and additional duties imposed on all foreign linen. By Sir William's judicious and solid remarks, it was evident to the candid and impartial, that the *public* alone could suffer if the act expired; as the hereditary revenue would rather be *increased*, and the crown rendered *more* independent. How absurd, *then*, was it to suppose, that a limitation of the bill to *four years* could operate as a check on the prerogative?

If a contest between the executive power, and the commons, should *again* occasion a prorogation, who would wish to see the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom essentially injured, by not inserting a clause, which is chiefly calculated for the ease and benefit of the subject, and the extension of commerce?—The apprehension of this might damp the spirited efforts of our patriots in the cause of freedom, and induce them to accept of a Money-bill, *originated* in the council, agreeable to Poyning's

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ings' law!—Thus, sir, the constitutional independence of the commons is secured by that very obnoxious clause; without it, they might be induced, through pity and compassion, to sacrifice their *legal privileges* for the sake of the people.

Ever since the year 1726, *that* clause has been constantly inserted; the *rejection* of it must have been deemed an *innovation*. Certainly, sir, it is not treating his majesty with the respect and confidence he deserves, to throw out malicious insinuations, and manifest an unjust and groundless suspicion of him. The English ministry, in several instances, have proved themselves friends to the true interest of this kingdom. To conciliate the favour of government, by all *proper means*, is true policy, and should be the aim of every honest man, who is neither *servile* nor *factionous*. If our patriots, by their late conduct, should acquire the favour and esteem of the public, I would exclaim with surprize, like the Spartan who caught his *deformed*, disgusting wife, in bed with her gallant: “Wretched man,” says he, “what dire necessity could drive thee to this!”

I am, sir, yours,

NUMBER XV.

Judiciorum desiderio, tribunitia potestas effragitata est: judiciorum levitate, ordo quoque alius ad res iudicandas postulatur. Judicium culpa atque dedecore, etiam censorium nomen, quod asperius antea populo videri solebat, id nunc poscitur: id jam popolare, atque plausibile factum est.

CICERONIS Oratio pro L. Muræna.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

S I R,

LAST Saturday I attended the debates in the house of commons, on J—ge R—n's conduct. Their spirited and liberal proceedings deserve the highest applause. Moderation, candour, and impartiality distinguished the Speaker: he shewed himself (what he has always been) a strenuous friend to liberty, and a determined opponent to every species of oppression. His profound knowledge in the laws and constitution of his country, conveyed in a manly strain of commanding eloquence, dissipated every doubt, and struck conviction to every heart. Mr. P—ry appeared like a Hampden or Hollis, asserting the rights of the subject, against the arbitrary and illegal measures,

fures, sanctioned by venal prerogative lawyers, who meanly prostituted themselves to a tyrannical court. — Mr. F—d's impetuous eloquence, grounded on the firm basis of truth and justice, captivated the passions, and convinced the understanding. — Counsellor Fitz——ns, in the true spirit of his *present*, and *original* profession, attempted to answer their arguments with his usual sophistry ; — a stranger to the precision and discriminating judgment of a Malone, he substitutes in their room evasive quibbles, and *distinctions* without a *difference*. This venerable patriot's virtue and consistency are apparent : he exerts himself to vindicate an unjust judge ; but is too conscientious to support an honest and disinterested administration. He acts like *that* virtuous pope who first ordained celibacy among the clergy ; yet, to palliate the severity of his injunction, indulged the priests with concubines instead of wives.

If J—ge R—n had flourished in the reign of a Charles, or a James, *principles* so congenial to his royal master's, must have met with suitable encouragement. Amongst the various oppressive modes of levying money on the subject, without the consent of parliament, *his* would have been adopted and cherished. What better expedient could be devised, than to fine
a county,

a county, *ad libitum*, for a pretended neglect in not repairing a road? for it must be admitted, that if a judge presumes to *determine*, without *proper* information, and *legal* evidence, it is not material whether his decision be founded on a *fact* or not. Even if the right of fining a county for not repairing a *turn-pike* road was clearly established, yet some deference should be paid to a set of gentlemen, and a respectable body of freeholders; they should be listened to, calmly and dispassionately, to hear what they could alledge, either to palliate or apologize for the omission. But this arrogant and ignorant man seems to have borrowed his maxims of jurisprudence from some of the Turkish bashaws, who first condemn and execute the supposed criminal, and then graciously indulge his friends with leave to commence a process, and give proofs of his innocence.

I own, Mr. Wagstaffe, I was ashamed to observe such strong marks of prejudice among the gentlemen of the long robe, in favour of Mr. R—n. Were they induced to sympathize with a worthless individual of their fraternity, by a conscious similarity of sentiment? or, perhaps, they would not choose to abridge the power of a judge, however arbitrary or il-

legal, as *they* live in patient expectation of being exalted, to the bench. It is somewhat remarkable, that lawyers and taylors are ever most zealous for the *honour* of their profession: the reason assigned for this peculiarity is too invidious for me to mention. The superior abilities of a Perry, a Malone, and a Hutchison, may preserve them from the epidemic taint of the *profession*. But an exception which arises from *singular* circumstances, cannot operate against a general and well established maxim.

What wretched arguments were Mr. R—n's advocates obliged to adopt? The constitutional right of the representatives of the people, to examine and censure the conduct of our judges, was questioned.—How often has this *inherent* privilege been exercised for the public good? We should gratefully remember, that what are *now* courts of law, would have been courts of inquisition; and the judges state inquisitors, without the generous efforts of the commons. When the chosen delegates of the people execute their trust with spirit and fidelity, judicial proceedings will be conducted on the principles of equity and unsophisticated reason.—Various attempts have been made by the reverend sages of the bench, to *refine* away the undoubted right of juries, to judge
of

of both *law* and *fact*: this Star-Chamber doctrine has never wanted advocates; and it is well-known that the lawyers, to a man, have always opposed the reform of abuses, or any attempt to make the forms of law more consonant to the dictates of common sense.

“Brush down a single cobweb in Westminster-Hall,” said Lord Chatham, “and the old spider will crawl out.”

There is a shameful indolence and supineness too prevalent among Irishmen. A nation that enjoys *few* privileges, should be tenacious of those they have; yet it required the utmost exertion of Mr. F——d’s abilities, to rouse the country gentlemen, and make them sensible of the importance of the subject. Mr. R——n, to aggravate his offence, had treated the house with contempt, by neither *attending*, nor deigning to send any message, or authorizing any of his friends to apologize for his vicious conduct: he had presumptuously acted in defiance of MAGNA CHARTA, and through passion and ignorance, made a breach in the constitution, contrary to his duty and oath. His principles are uniform and consistent. He makes no scruple of sacrificing the rights of the subject to whim and caprice; and the life of a wretched criminal, to pique and resentment.

I shall produce two anecdotes, well authenticated, to support my assertion. Some years ago, when Mr. R——n went the circuit, he was a little discomposed by the jolting of the carriage: in a rage, he exclaimed, “that he would fine the county.” His brother judge calmly observed, “that the road did not run through any part of his circuit.” Mr. R. still insisted “that he would fine the county not as a judge of assize, but as one of the justices of the King’s Bench, for in that capacity, his jurisdiction extended to all parts of the kingdom.”—The second instance happened in a neighbouring county: he had recommended it to a jury to represent a person capitally convicted before him for horse-stealing, as an object of mercy. However, *they* did not pay due attention to his recommendation. After the judge had returned from his circuit, the criminal had given some useful information, and discovered several of his accomplices: induced by these considerations, the gentlemen of the grand jury wrote in his favour to Mr. R——n, and desired that he would represent the criminal’s case to government. But this righteous judge refused to comply with *their* request, thought it coincided with his former sentiments, *because* the jury had

had not *implicitly* obeyed his mandate; and so the poor wretch fell a victim to his obstinacy.

I question whether the Persian judge, who was flead by Cambyſes, and his ſkin ſtuffed, to ſerve inſtead of a *wool pack* for his ſucceſſors, had not more compaſſion and humanity than this ſervile copier of a Scrogs or Jeffries. For my part, I hope the houſe will addreſs his Maſteſty to remove him from the bench; for ſuch a judge is a diſgrace and inſult to a free country. Mr. R——n will be little affected by what I can ſay: callous to thoſe nice feelings which are ever inſeparable from the leaſt degree of genius, he wraps himſelf up in pride and dullneſs. Nature has endued *ſuch* men with ſelf-conceit, which increaſes in a *direct ratio* to the contempt and ſcorn with which they are treated, as fiſh are endued with ſwim-bladders, that expand and buoy them up in proportion to the depth of water in which they are immerſed.

I am, ſir, yours,

March 3, 1772.

ALFRED.

NUMBER XVI.

To JOEPPRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

SIR,

WHEN faction and disappointed ambition, appear under the specious disguise of public spirit, we should always appeal to facts, to judge of the conduct of government. Satire and invective, on either side, only shew the wit and ingenuity of the writer, but *prove nothing*. The cry of liberty, and the profession of Roman zeal to defend the rights and liberties of the people, when they are in no danger, often render the integrity of our patriots justly problematical. They resemble our modern quacks, who are always recommending the virtue and efficacy of their medicines, and modest advertisements, to impose on the ignorant and credulous.

It is an incontrovertible fact, that the linen manufacture is our staple commodity; consequently, its extension and improvement merits the principal attention of every Chief Governor, who interests himself in the prosperity of Ireland.

Ireland. By this criterion let us judge of Lord Townshend's administration.

It must be allowed, Mr. Wagstaffe, that the bounty granted by England, on the exportation of Irish linen, has enabled us to carry that manufacture to its present perfection. This bounty was first granted in the year 1742; and in a few years the number of yards exported gradually encreased from six to 12,891,318 yards, value 751,993*l*.—In 1751, the bounty expired. In 1752, the exports decreased 2,235,315 yards;—loss to Ireland, 130,393*l*.

Various attempts were made, but without success, for a renewal of this bounty, till the year 1756,

The exports *then*
11,944,328 yds.—value 796,288*l*.

In 1757, when the bounty took place,
15,508,709 yds.—value 1,033,931*l*.

Increased in exports,
3,564,381 yds.—value 237,625*l*.

In the year 1744, the quantity of Irish linen receiving bounty, was 2,100,000 yards. In 1750, 3,400,000 yards. It now exceeds five millions.—It must give every friend to his country, the most sincere pleasure to observe

the present flourishing state of our linen manufacture. I shall lay before the reader, our exports for the three last years.

In the year 1769, ——— 17,790,705 yards.

In the year 1770, ——— 20,560,754 yards.

In the year 1771, ——— 25,376,805 yards.

The bounty paid on the exportation of British and Irish linens, for thirteen years and a half, amounted to 492,153l. 6s. 7d. The medium this year was 45,257l. of which 23,130l. to Ireland, and 22,497l. to Great Britain— Let every Irishman remember, that we are indebted to Lord T———d for a *renewal*, and an *addition* to this bounty, in the year 1770.

Mr. Grenville asserts, that the “Exports from Ireland to the British colonies, have increased since the peace, upon a medium of five years, 101,702l.” We may depend on this calculation, as Mr. Bourke passes it by *unnoticed* in his *accurate Observations on the State of the Nation*. Though Mercator’s remarks may be just, “That the linen trade declined soon after the late peace,” yet that check was but momentary; our increased exports to America, since that period, prove beyond a possibility of doubt, that our staple manufacture was never in a more flourishing state.

In

In the year 1769, the Manchester manufacturers presented a petition (supported by Lord Strange, and sir George Saville) for a bounty of three half-pence a yard on all checks. If this petition had been carried, it would have ruined our linen manufacture, by operating as a bounty of 45l. per cent. against it ;— for every one conversant in business knows, that Manchester is supplied with Irish yarn, and that our home manufacture is essentially injured by the large exportation of yarn from Derry, Drogheda, and other ports. What would have been our situation in a short time, if this scheme had succeeded?—In the committee, the petition was rejected by *only* a majority of *one*. The measure, at that time, was prevented by his Excellency's care and vigilance.

In the year of 1770, another petition was presented by the Manchester manufacturers. An application was then made by the Linen-board to the Lord Lieutenant, and a memorial drawn up on the subject. Mr. A——n was instantly dispatched to England, and by his comprehensive knowledge of our linen trade, he was enabled to set the matter in so strong and clear a light, that the attempt *again* failed of success.—It is well known, that his Excellency personally interested himself in this affair, and

and by his assiduity, and strenuous representations to the English ministry, and by private letters to his particular friends, he obtained such an influence in the English house, that our linen trade was preserved from ruin, and the bounty on English checks limited to an halfpenny per yard.

It is evident, Mr. Wagstaffe, that an extension of our trade depends on the favour of Great Britain : the people of England, in general, are extremely jealous, and are perpetually soliciting the commons for bounties, which indirectly strike at the staple commodity of this kingdom.—We are indebted to the ministry, and the friendly aid of our Chief Governor, for preventing the intended blow : it is, therefore, our duty and interest to act on conciliating principles, and not raise a violent clamour on trifles, merely from personal and selfish motives. If our patriots act on public-spirited principles, let them abolish that disgraceful privilege, which distinguishes them from their fellow-subjects, and exempts m——rs of p———nt from the obligation of acting like *honest men*.

To provide a maintenance for the indigent, and force those to work who are a burthen to the community, would remove a national disgrace : our streets and roads are filled with
objects

objects that excite both horror and compassion. A relaxation of the penal laws would enrich, improve, and prevent the depopulation of this country. Beggary and luxury are seen here in extremes. To revive trade in the capital, is not sufficient; nor will such a narrow system of policy be of essential service. A paralytic person may have warmth at the heart, though the extremities are cold and senseless.—Hibernia, in its present state, might be exhibited like Anson's sailors, "who
 " dressed themselves in the laced and embroi-
 " dered cloaths of the Spaniards, and put them
 " on over their own dirty trowsers and jackets."

I am, sir, yours,

Y A MERCHANT.

N U M B E R X V I I .

O fortunatis nimium, sua si bona norint. VIRG.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

S I R,
 CRANTZ, in his history of Greenland,
 describes " a kind of fish, that has a
 " large head, and eyes like an owl; the
 " Green-

“Greenlanders call them *Ingeminiset*, because they growl when they dive down.”—Our patriots bear a striking resemblance to this fish: with visages distorted by envy, disappointment, and *affected* grievances, they *groan in spirit*, from their retreats, and insidiously attempt to infuse their own gloomy ideas into their countrymen.

The deficiency of the revenue has furnished ample field for patriotic declamation, though it may be easily proved, that the balance of trade in our favour, is *proportionate* to this very deficiency; for the revenue arises from the duties on our imports, which chiefly consist of foreign luxuries;—consequently, national commerce (by which I mean our export trade) may be in a flourishing state, when our revenue is at the lowest ebb. The absurdity then of such logic and complaints, must appear evident to the unprejudiced and impartial.

Our patriots, indeed, can readily discover the source of all our misfortunes. A decay of trade, bankruptcies, poverty and idleness, are all originated by the baneful influence of government:—those ingenious gentlemen offer an easy solution for every difficulty. The protest and prorogation were long held out to

the ignorant multitude as the sole cause of the dearth of corn, and high price of provisions. Such profound politicians reason like Lapland philosophers, who say when it thunders, “that two women are stretching and flapping a dried seal-skin, and the thunder proceeds from that rattle.”

I think it might be easily demonstrated, notwithstanding all our complaints of the oppression and injustice of England, that we have still ample resources within ourselves ;—that we might extend our trade, and improve our agriculture, if our nobility and gentry had *public spirit*, and our manufacturers honesty and industry. The extortion and rack-rents of our landlords depopulate and ruin the kingdom. Every necessary of life is as dear in Dublin, as in London, though we have not the thousandth part of its commerce, opulence, or circulating specie.—Some years since, we carried on an advantageous, though clandestine trade with Spain and Portugal, by annually exporting camblets and stuffs to the value of 300,000*l*. This we have lost, by *false package*, and other frauds and impositions. We even see that neither the assiduity and care of the Legislature, nor the laudable zeal and vigilance of the Linen-board, can effectually

tually suppress the scandalous practice of fraudulent lapping, and other mean cheats so universally complained of, in our linen manufacture.

Till some vigorous measures are adopted, to check the illegal combination of our workmen, it will always be in the power of a set of drunken, disorderly fellows, to blast every judicious and beneficial scheme for the improvement of our manufactures and extension of our commerce.—A strong instance of this appears in an excellent pamphlet, entitled, “An address to the Representatives of the People.” “A few years ago,” says this sensible writer, “we had some expectations of gaining a little foreign trade for ready-made shoes, and I think præmiums were given by the Dublin Society to the exporters. Hence we were flattered with the hopes of this becoming a branch of some little profit to the nation, since every pair of shoes that should be exported, would be a clear gain to the kingdom: but this hope was destroyed in its bud. The journey-men shoe-makers turned out for wages, and the masters remained stiff for three weeks or a month, in so much, that the public were in great distress for shoes, even that several were under the necessity of sending to Lon-

“ don

“ don for them, and still continue to do so,
 “ alledging, that they can be supplied sooner,
 “ cheaper, and better than in Dublin.—At
 “ length, terms were made, and the journey-
 “ men’s wages advanced four-pence a pair upon
 “ men’s shoes, so in proportion for women’s
 “ and children’s. This was a tax upon the
 “ public, which, although submitted to at
 “ home, might, and I believe has lost the little
 “ share of foreign trade we were in expectation
 “ of. But the imposition did not stop here;—
 “ because the journeymen raised their price
 “ four pence a pair for men’s shoes, the mas-
 “ ters very modestly at once, raised the price
 “ upon the public a *shilling*, or *eighteen pence* a
 “ pair, which is from 200 to 350 per cent.
 “ on the journeymen’s advance. Leather they
 “ have said was dear—raw hides are fallen
 “ cent. per cent. but I do not hear of shoes
 “ falling in price.—Thus, one example fol-
 “ lows another, and mechanics in almost every
 “ branch of business, in their turns, form
 “ combinations for an advance of wages;
 “ merely, I fear, that the earning of three
 “ days a week, may enable them to spend the
 “ other four in the ale-house.”

Truths of this sort, Mr. Wagstaffe, that
 “ come home to men’s business and bosoms,”

may

may have a good effect on some of your readers, and succeeded better than a gentler address.

I shall conclude my letter with another extract from the same pamphlet, as it has an immediate connection with our present subject.

“The capital articles *not exportable*, and which at present seem to monopolize the zealous attention of the public, are

“The silk manufacture,

“The woollen manufacture.

“Those exportable are, — Linen, corn, tallow, wool, beef, butter, pork, hides, fish dried, &c.

“These articles, circumstanced as *we are*, I conceive, should reduce the attention of this kingdom to two grand objects,

“AGRICULTURE and LINEN: Fish may be added.

“The branches of agriculture are *tillage*, which comprehends *flax* and *flax-seed*, reclaiming *waste lands*, feeding cattle; and the linen being *exportable*, stamps its own value to the kingdom.

“Let us turn the scale, and suppose that we had a free exportation of silk and woollen goods, instead of the produce of our land
“and

“ and linen. Cool and dispassionate reason
 “ will surely see, that we should have much
 “ more reason to complain than we have now,
 “ because there could be no proportion in the
 “ profit. England and France would ever be
 “ our competitors in the woollen, and the
 “ silk could afford but a small profit, because
 “ the material is foreign and very costly; be-
 “ sides which, when could we hold a com-
 “ petition with the other two nations? But
 “ when we add another consideration to our
 “ present latitude, that the English have laid,
 “ not only a duty of ten per cent. upon the
 “ importation of German linens, thereby open-
 “ ing their markets to the Irish, but also an
 “ equal bounty on the exportation of Irish and
 “ English linens, surely we should reflect upon
 “ those measures, as living testimonies of her
 “ paternal affection.”

I am, sir, yours,

Yours, A MERCANT.

N U M-

NUMBER XVIII.

Projicit ampullas & sesquipedalia verba.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

SIR,

I AM too well acquainted with Doctor Lucas, to be surpris'd at his effrontery, in attempting to impose on his readers by false assertions, and empty declamation ; the public have always treated his productions with deserved contempt. —The loyal inhabitants of this kingdom have persevered in their allegiance, though every base and mean art has been repeatedly used to excite them to riot and faction. In vain has the trumpet of sedition re-echoed from St. Audeon's Arch ;—in vain has a selfish, disappointed junto dress'd up the dæmon of licentiousness, to resemble the goddess of liberty : the cheat was too apparent, and as easily distinguished as the daubing of a sign-painter from the tints of a Titian.

The Doctor seems very angry, “ that our
 “ worthy chief magistrate had not authority or
 “ influence enough to keep a board of alder-
 “ men together, *to take the important matters he*
 “ offered,

“*offered, under their consideration.*”—It seems, neither the inattention, contempt, or abhorrence of every rational and temperate man, can damp the Doctor’s noble ardour in the cause of faction. Neither the contemptuous sneers of the House, the recusant gates of Leinster-place, nor Lord Shannon’s dignified silence on the *political* part of a congratulatory letter, can lower this dotard’s vanity.—What curb can restrain a vicious horse with a bad mouth? then how can shame or decency check the innate petulance of this despicable old man?—He remains obstinately blind to a plain circumstance, which every one must see, “that he had really nothing material to offer;” or even if he had proposed any public measure of real utility, the turpitude of the man would have disgraced it.

Let me now congratulate the Doctor on his *first* feelings as a parent: he “laments the pious son, punished for the virtues of the father; and the father for the virtues of the children.” I know no where this tragic scene has been acted: surely this ingenuous writer does not allude to Mr. P—n—by, whose political crimes he has regularly registered in the Freeman. However, the Doctor may bid defiance to this species of ministerial

vengeance; his unnatural conduct has effectually preserved his family from such complicated persecution.

It is difficult to draw any conclusion from the vague, embarrassed allegation in the sixth paragraph of the Doctor's letter. If he means to insinuate that any promise was made by the Vice-roy, the plain state of the case will confute his assertion.—The Quarterage-bill, like all others, must pass through both houses of parliament, and receive the sanction of the council, before the Lord Lieutenant can constitutionally interfere, or recommend it to his Majesty for the royal assent. Is it to be supposed that his Excellency would enter into any previous engagement, or does the Doctor alledge, that any application was made to him by the corporation, with this view. If he does, with what indignity does he treat his fellow citizens, by supposing they could esteem a chief governor's patronage sufficient security for passing any bill, before the parliament or council had debated upon it.—The very idea is preposterous; the inference injurious, both to the honour of parliament, and the character of those who presented the bill, with the usual *complimentary address*. The Doctor forgets that a specious shew of probability

bability is essentially requisite, even to obtain a momentary credit for his scurrilous falsehoods, and gross defamation.

Perhaps this babbler will say, “ That the weavers petition, presented by the Marquis of Kildare, was insolently and meanly refused.”—It would have degraded government, and been disrespectful to the city, to have received an anonymous, unauthorised petition on the very day that a legal, loyal, and proper address was presented, on the subject of national grievances. That address was immediately transmitted to England, and most graciously received by his Majesty—His Excellency paid a polite attention to the Marquis of Kildare, as a person of rank and character, but could not carry his complaisance farther.

I shall now reduce the Doctor’s elaborate epistle to a few clear and distinct points. In a passionate address to the obstinate, and unfeeling aldermen, he thus exclaims: “ Have they not seen, have they not felt the general stagnation of the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, the consequent decrease of the revenue, confessedly brought on by the violent outrages of administration.”—The venerable and celebrated

representative of the city of Dublin, seems ignorant of the very elements of commerce: he does not yet know, that the revenue arises from our imports, and not from our exports. The linen manufacture, our staple commodity, was never in a more flourishing condition: the dreadful prorogation did not affect it. Our Western exports, beef, butter, pork, &c. have annually increased. The deficiency of the revenue, indeed, has furnished ample scope for patriotic misrepresentation, though it might be easily proved that the balance of trade in our favour, is *proportionate* to this very deficiency—for the revenue arises from our import duties, which chiefly consist of foreign luxuries;—consequently national commerce by which I mean our export trade, may flourish, when the revenue is at the lowest ebb. The absurdity of the Doctor's logic and complaints, must appear evident to the meanest capacity. If I were to apologize to the patriot's constituents for his folly, I should say he reasons from analogy, and wisely concludes, that a dose of futile, perplexed declamation, may prove as salutary to weak brains, as asses milk to weak lungs: thus he prescribes and administers both with equal skill, in his political and medical capacity.

“ Yet

“ Yet do they not see,” continues the Doctor, “ the military establishment augmented beyond all tolerable bounds.” These are his sentiments on that judicious parliamentary augmentation, by which the royal prerogative was restrained, and a corps of 12000 troops provided for the defence and security of the people who pay them. This public spirited measure, executed with the strictest œconomy, produced a saving of 23,385l. 15s. 8d. This was effected by the Lord Lieutenant’s *innovating* on the usual mode of issuing pay for the intended argumentation, as soon as it was voted. By this means, a large non-effective fund became the property of the public, and was applied to the service of the state.

The reduction of the staff has also produced an annual saving of 2737l. 10s. 0d. These regulations were adopted by a *military* Viceroy, “ Can they (*i. e.* the aldermen) pretended to be ignorant of the state of the national debt? “ Must they not see, that at Lady Day 1769, “ it did not exceed 628,883l. 17s. 10d. Yet “ at Lady Day 1771, it arose to the sum of “ 789,569l. 7s. 8d. *And that the arrears amount to no less than 1,057,151l. 15s. 7d.*”

The difference between the national debt in 1769, and 1771, was principally occasioned by

the increased charge of the military establishment, which was accordingly foreseen and provided for, by a vote of credit for 100,000*l*. Tho' the arrears amount to 1,054,171*l*. 2*s*. 10*d*. yet if the doctor had been ingenuous, he would have inserted the following words from the General State of the National Accounts.

“ Arrears due at Lady Day 1771, (including
 “ the national debt) 1,054,171*l*. 2*s*. 10*d*. To-
 “ wards which must be applied balances and
 “ arrears due at Lady Day 1771, on the re-
 “ venue, loan duties, &c. &c. which amount
 “ to 264,601*l*. 15*s*. 1½*d*.”

But the doctor, who never deviates into truth, either ignorantly or insidiously, points out the arrears as a separate article, and an additional burthen on the kingdom. Certainly, sir, the aldermen perceived this mean, ungenerous deception (for I suppose your letter in the Freeman, is only a copy of the paper you laid before them) and therefore treated you with the contempt you deserved. “ And yet do
 “ they not know, that regardless of the enor-
 “ mous debt contracted, the pensions, con-
 “ cordatums, incidents are continually in-
 “ creased and multiplied upon the establish-
 “ ment.” In answer to this falsehood, I shall only observe, that the pensions are de-
 creased

creased 2700l. per annum during Lord Townshend's administration, nor is any other incidental expence augmented.

I need not expatiate on the many excellent laws which will always distinguish his Excellency's government, particularly the Octennial Bill. This grateful nation is indebted to L. T. for the Absentee Tax, nor has he ever exerted his interest or influence to counteract its beneficial effects. He refused to recommend Lord Chief Justice Clayton's request to the king, for a nett annuity of 1000l. His conduct on this, and *similar* applications, is his best eulogium.

Happily, sir, "your rulers (as you style the worthy aldermen) have common understanding;" they do not see that the Chief Governor meant to include the loyal city of Dublin, "in that part of his speech where he points out different parts of this kingdom, as engaging in lawless associations, and committing violent outrages." Are not those Protestant sons of liberty, the Hearts of Steel, at present houghing cattle, burning houses, and persecuting their fellow-subjects in the North? Are not those Catholic sons of liberty, the White Boys, in the center of the kingdom, dragging people out of their beds, burying

them alive, and destroying their property? You will answer perhaps, that the White Boys are not exactly in the center of the kingdom—and be sure to make a motion, and divide on this in parliament. You may modestly move the House to enter into some spirited resolution: for instance, * “ That any reflection on the
 “ county of Antrim, contains an injurious
 “ censure against the county of Tyrone: that
 “ houghing cattle, burning houses, and such
 “ trifling offences, are not *specifically* riots:
 “ that the indignation of the people was
 “ constitutionally expressed on the first of
 “ March, in College-Green: that the beating
 “ two or three Bishops, and menacing a few
 “ Temporal Lords and Commoners with
 “ death, was not a riot or breach of the
 “ peace.” Remember, always to divide on these important questions. In short, nothing will satisfy you, but those glorious days, when the common-halls shall dictate to the throne, and mobs to parliament: when regulators shall disarm the troops, and swaddlers superseded the clergy: when a Lucas shall bully a Lord Mayor, and instruct a Lord Lieutenant.—Ridiculed, exposed, and smarting from the correction you have often received, you still

* Vide Journals of the House.

have recourse to that stale expedient, of recovering your consequence by preaching up sedition, and mixing with the rabble. You were aptly compared to a battered Shrove-Tuesday cock, that is restored to life and vigour by having his head plunged in a dung-hill. You disgust every reader of taste with your slovenly inaccuracies, your grovelling style, and obscure tautologies, *tolerable bounds, fall and downfall* of your country—the *ruins* of liberty, &c.—You must certainly suppose the temple of liberty situated in some alley in Meath-street, perhaps you mistake the weavers asylum for that sacred dome; *there* you may at last retire, and enjoy *otium cum dignitate*, if the hard-hearted aldermen still refuse you a stipend.

October 30th, 1771.

DIOGENES.

 NUMBER XIX.

— — — For our end

We must suggest the people, in what hatred
 He still hath held them, that to power he would
 Have made them mules, silenc'd their pleaders, and
 Disproperty'd their freedoms: holding them
 In human action and capacity,
 Of no more soul, or fitness in the world,
 Than camels in the war, who have their provender,
 Only for bearing burthens, and sore blows
 For sinking under them.

To GEOFFRY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

S I R,

YOU have wisely, in my opinion, avoided
 as much as possible, entering into any alter-
 cation with the supporters of those two contempt-
 ible vehicles of public sedition and private scan-
 dal, the Freeman and Hibernian, and indeed have
 left them in a great measure unnoticed. However,
 I hope you will not object to these few stric-
 tures on Brutus's letter of the 3d of this month:
 he there affects to give an impartial state of the
 public account between the Lord Lieutenant
 and the Nation, considered as debtor and cre-
 ditor. To add weight to his reasoning, he

copies.

copies the example of the Grub-street publishers of *red and black lists*; doubtless conceiving, that the colours which heretofore doomed so many members of parliament to eternal obloquy, or consigned them to immortal fame, will carry equal conviction to the understanding of his credulous readers. 'This dull, fastidious, lying performance, is evidently the child of the puritanic O—l—r P—k—t, notwithstanding the declarations in the same paper to the contrary; his malignant levelling spirit is apparent through the whole; in denying it, he only copies the example of his late coadjutor, doctor Lucas.

It is to be presumed, that this worthy author assumes his signature from the factious tribune mentioned by Shakespeare; a man who brought his country to the brink of destruction, by the persecution of her best and bravest citizens;—how unlike that immortal Roman, who, from a conscientious and ardent love of liberty, drew his sword against an usurping tyrant!—I am the last man, Mr. Wagstaffe, that would prostitute my pen to palliate or apologize for the *actions* of corrupt magistrates, who plunder or insult my country; much less of a Vice-roy who deserved that character. On the other hand, I think it the duty of every friend to

K 5.

truth,

truth, and the public weal, to oppose the turbulence of a restless faction, to detect and expose the falsehoods, insidiously calculated to poison the minds of the credulous multitude, and to check the overweening pride of those malecontents, who cannot brook that subordinate rank in the community, which chance or nature has assigned them.—Whoever reflects seriously on the conduct and views of these *men*, will easily discern how impossible it is for the most prudent and mild government to ensure the peace and good order of society. The malignant, though contemptible libels of a Pl—k—t, may disgrace the country which was immortalized by a Walker; whilst those popular ruffians, Savage and Redmond, shall parade over the very ground, where the illustrious William marched to our salvation. Such miscreants, as *professed friends* to the prosperity of Ireland, would render every industrious inhabitant discontented with his situation, and justify the excesses of the profligate against the sober and honest part of the community, charging government (as the father of all sin) with the misery and depopulation that inevitably follows.

As *friends to the constitutions*, they exhort the juries to judge of the expediency of the law,

and the conduct of the legislature who passed it, not of the atrociousness of the crime, or the proof before them ; and as *determined opponents* to military government, and *augmentations*, they excite and cultivate such a rebellious spirit among the common people, as obliges the landed gentry, and the *northern patriots* to solicit the aid of the military, and place themselves in fact entirely under their protection.—Such are the patriotic consistencies, and pious labours of Brutus Pl—k—t, and his coadjutors, however unsupported, and even condemned by the general sense of the nation. Indeed, I cannot recollect any county (Meath excepted), or corporate town, which has adopted his language. The general opinion and voice of this kingdom breathe nothing but a dutiful acknowledgment of the virtues and firmness of our truly amiable sovereign, though he is represented in our loyal papers as an idiot, a tyrant, a Jacobite, and a patron of Sodomites. With respect to his substitute here, I should be at a loss to determine his real character, were it not for those public testimonials he has received from so many counties and corporations, which have never been cancelled, as I hear, by any one authentic disavowal, during an unusual residence of five years.

Here might be the proper place to enter into a particular discussion with Brutus, both as to his Excellency's public and private character; for I observe that he is as accurate an arithmetician as Sir W—ll—m M—ne, and keeps a *pence-table* to register his charities; as *these* are of a private nature, and belong only to the feelings of the heart, I shall take no notice of them. The Lord Lieutenant's attention to our public works, charter schools, foundling hospital, &c. is remembered by every thinking man, when the violence and selfish spirit of a party had drawn on the prorogation. It was a bitter disappointment to a faction, which hoped to bring every calamity on their country, to see themselves defeated by the kind attention and benevolence of the crown.

Let me proceed to state Brutus's charges, with explicit answers, and then present the candid and impartial reader with a true account of the many extensive benefits this country has received in the quinquennium of Lord Townshend's administrations.

BRUTUS'S Charge.

Prorogation.

To be imputed to Mr. P. and the patriots, who passed a useless and unconstitutional vote. The parliament met the following winter, merely

merely to transact the national business, in consequence of a decent and dutiful address from the city of Dublin.

Oppressions of the veterans at Kilmainham.

An absolute falsehood. The contemptible string of lies on this head, can be confuted by the testimony of every governor of the hospital.

Riot Act.

All counties should have a Riot Act, who prefer a legal, to a mob government.

Pensions to whores and pimps.

The charge on the civil list for pensions, is decreased 6000*l.* per annum during Lord Townshend's administration; nor has he loaded the establishment with a single one for any of his blood or relations.—An unprecedented instance of disinterestedness.

Squandering the public money to purchase members of parliament.

An absurd falsehood.—If the charge could be proved, why did your patriots drop their long blazoned enquiry?

Obstructing the act, that the judges should hold their employments, quam diu se bene gesserint.

The nation is obliged to Lord Townshend for his good intentions: he promoted and recommended this act in the strongest manner.—

The

The Prime Serjeant, last sessions, explained the true principle, *why* a clause was inserted in that bill, which induced the commons to reject it.

Living's to many ungodly men.

Puritanic cant and nonsense.

Augmentation Act.

The best military regulation ever adopted. — Prerogative restrained, and the defence and security of the kingdom provided, for by the same means.

Breach of the royal promise, &c.

Absolutely false. — The army in this kingdom, consists of four regiments of horse, eight of dragoons, and twenty-two regiments of foot; they all are as complete as possible, *allowing for deaths and desertions.*

Sinking the Quarterage-Bill.

It is to be feared that the Lord Lieutenant has not so much merit on this occasion, as is imputed to him. — Ireland is the only Protestant country, which does not encourage and industrious strangers. The bad policy of this injudicious prevention, is owing to the pitiful local jealousies of the noisy and monopolizing corporations of a metropolis, sinking under dissipation and faction.

The

The spirit of the Absentee-tax dispensed with.

This grateful nation is indebted to Lord Townshend for the Absentee-tax; nor has he exerted his interest or influence to counteract its beneficial effects. He refused to recommend Lord Chief Justice Clayton's request to the King, for a nett annuity of 1000l.—His conduct on this, and similar applications, is his best eulogium.

Supporting Popery Acts.

No acts have been supported by government, but such as will conciliate the minds of dutiful, peaceable, though unfortunate subjects, at the same time that they tended to cure that evil which the Freeman so loudly complained of—a scarcity of cash.

Appointing useless surveyors.

The improvement or decline of the revenue will prove whether they are useless or not.

Preventing (or at best, not recommending) the return of Grier's and Howard's bills.

Another bold lie—The true cause of its failure was occasioned by some English creditors, who petitioned the privy council—and their objections were deemed valid.

Not encouraging trade by residing at Black Rock.

Is his Excellency to live all the summer at the Castle?—Then why do not our patriots reside in Dublin also? Are not levees held every week?

week? and is not all the cash for the maintenance of his household expended in Dublin?—Which of our patriots can say with his Excellency, that they themselves, or their families, have never worn any thing but Irish manufacture during five years?

Disgracing the representative of Majesty, by keeping company with the dissolute and abandoned.

I much fear his Majesty himself will be more disgraced in the next papers.—Who are these dissolute and abandoned?—Is it owing to the charity of the Freemen, that they remain in the shade?

By appointing men, scarcely a degree above ideots, to seats in the privy council.

Are their understandings inferior to Lord L—th's, Lord W—st—th's, sir W—ll—m M—ne's or Mr. P—nf—by's?

By appointing men to the office of High Sheriffs, &c.

It is notorious that justice is more impartially administered than ever, by the appointment of sheriffs: to maintain a strict impartiality in counties, where strong divisions prevail, the sheriffs are frequently nominated alternately from each party.

Appointment of the five commissioners of excise.

The judicious æconomical regulations already adopted in the revenue, prove their utility.

—In

—In a few years Mr. P—ns—by raised the charge of collecting the revenue by incidents, &c. 45,000l. per ann. In a few months the new board have diminished them above 7,000l. per annum.

Commissioners of accounts.

It is a fact, that the Lord Chancellor, and the Barons of the Exchequer, neither did, nor had leisure to examine the national accounts with accuracy and precision.—The saving to the nation, by the establishment of this board, will be considerable, as will most evidently appear next session of parliament.

And lastly, by great misrepresentation of the whole Irish nation.

Where did the lying author collect this?—It is probable, that if his Excellency, after the prorogation, had represented the conduct of a violent, disappointed faction, to have been the general sense of the kingdom, this parliament had never met again. It is evident from *that* event, that both the Chief Governor, and the British cabinet, formed a very different idea, nor were they mistaken; for the sense of the parliament, when they met, and the sense of the whole nation, has proved very different from the language of the Free Press, and Protesting Lords, which are no more than a weak

and contemptible imitation of the seditious language of the contemptible supporters of the Bill of Rights, at the London Tavern,

After thus *answering*, I hope, in a satisfactory manner, every charge urged by this despicable writer, I shall conclude by recapitulating those essential benefits which we have received from him.

Abolition of Lords Justices, and of an aristocratic system, which was a disgrace to a free people.

The Octennial-bill—which has diffused an English spirit of liberty among the freeholders of this kingdom.

The Absentee-tax—which produces 16 or 17,000 l. a year, and saves ten times as much to the nation, by preventing many of our nobility and gentry from residing abroad.

	l.	s.	d.
Actual produce of it	16,000	0	0
A resident Lord Lieutenant, (per annum) —	16,000	0	0
The bounty on linen <i>renewed</i> . This, by <i>experimental proof</i> , occasions the export of 3,564,381 yards, value —	237,625	0	0
			An

An *extension* of the bounty to Irish printed linens.

Preventing a bounty of three half-pence a yard on all Manchester checks, which would have operated as a bounty of 45 l. per cent. against our linen manufacture.

	l.	s.	d.
Reduction of the staff,	2,737	0	0
Pensions diminished -	60,000	0	0

The Privilege-bill, which has *disobliged* several of the patriots, by subjecting them to the laws of their country, and compelling them to act like honest men.

The Bankrupt-bill, which will extend our trade, by establishing confidence and credit among our Merchants.

The Rum-bill—which will extend to our commerce, and increase the Revenue.

40,000 0 0

A judicious parliamentary augmentation, by which the royal prerogative was restrained, and a corps of twelve thousand troops provided for the

the defence and security of the people who pay them. That public spirited measure, executed with the strictest œconomy, produces a saving of 23,358l. 15s. 8d. This was effected by the Lord Lieutenant's *innovating* on the usual mode of issuing pay for the intended augmentation as soon as it was voted. By this means, a large non-effective fund became the property of the public, and was applied to the service of the state.

The appointment of more Irish judges, and Irish bishops, than any of his predecessors.

V E R A X.

N U M B E R X X.

Diram qui contudit Hydram,
 Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
 Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari. H O R.

To GEOFFREY WAGSTAFFE, Esq.

S I R,

YOUR correspondent Verax, in his excellent letter of the 24th of last month, gave a detail at once so ample and impartial of Lord Townshend's merits to this country, that he has left little for the friends of government
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to supply, or for its enemies to object, on that exhausted subject. That paper contained such an enumeration of benefits conferred on Ireland within these last five years, that it looked rather like a catalogue of objects to be desired, than of acquisitions already obtained, and of which we are at this moment in actual possession. Were a body of the most sanguine and requiring electors, in this sanguine and requiring age and nation, to propose conditions of eternal vote and suffrage to any undertaking candidate for their favour, I suppose the extravagance of ignorant expectation could hardly swell out a list of such constitutional articles, as are comprised in that fair state of debtor and creditor, between the present Governor and the people. Compare it with what was obtained for Ireland in any former period of the same duration, nay, of three times the same duration, and detraction herself will scarce hesitate to pronounce, that this man deserves an everlasting monument in the breast of every real friend to his country. The name of Chesterfield is still mentioned among us with respect and veneration: we say he was a wise, a temperate, and a disinterested ruler: we hold up his example as a satire on those who went before, and a model for those who are to come after

after him. And why? He came to Ireland it is true at a very critical juncture: the King's title was denied, and a Pretender to his crown was advancing at the head of some furious mountaineers, to dispute it with him in his capital. The policy of government in this kingdom, at such a time, was obvious: to betray no apprehension of a revolution in England, nor to exercise unnecessary severities towards a large body of the people, whose imbecility was confirmed before, by the laws which had stripped them of the means of rendering disloyalty formidable. This was the policy, and this the merit of Lord Chesterfield. His lordship's discernment, and the season, co-operated to establish his reputation: the suavity of his manners gained him many private friends: he cultivated men of letters; and they transmitted him to posterity with the partiality inseparable from the distinguished notice with which he had honoured them. Many of his sayings are still in the mouths of his contemporaries. But it is in vain to search the public records of that æra, for any improvement of our commerce, our finances, or our constitution. However honourable and satisfactory the revision of *Verax* may be to the present, it requires no spirit of divination to foresee, that
it

it will be the source of much comparative censure, of much disquiet and bitterness, to the succeeding administration: not that a spirit of laudable emulation will be wanting to that worthy and amiable nobleman who is shortly to preside in this kingdom, but, in truth, so much has been done by his predecessor, that it is difficult to say, what is there attainable that remains to be performed. To encrease the revenues of a country, without adding to the burthen of its taxes; to confirm its liberties, and improve its constitution, without diminution of the royal prerogative; at once to augment its armies, and secure its tranquility; to extend its commerce, without prejudicing the mother-country, are objects of distinguished magnitude; and the possibility of so rare a combination may not exist again in a long series of our uneventful history.

These are the vestiges which Lord Townshend will leave behind him. By these will his name be remembered, when private pique, and personal animosity, are totally extinguished: when the veil of misrepresentation is withdrawn from his actions; and when the libel of the day is buried in the dust of neglect and oblivion.

The mode of attacking his person and measures has been hitherto varied according to the nature of the defence, and the different genius of the assailants.

At one time, his conduct as a soldier in a former part of his life (though totally unconnected with his present situation) was the favourite theme of defamation. Every exploded calumny against the military reputation of the American general, was hauled from antiquated gazetteers and journals, to confront and embarrass the Vice-roy of Ireland. In vain were these base falsehoods crushed by authentic vouchers in your paper, they crawled again and again before the public thro' long columns of chronicles and registers, and some purpose was answered; while the giddy multitude, always disposed to judge unfavourably of their superiors, and who have neither heads nor tempers to examine both sides of a question, could be persuaded that little worthy was to be expected from the statesman, when nothing meritorious had been performed by the officer. At another time, when notoriety made it impossible to deny the public acts of his government, the acts indeed were at last admitted, but the attainment was ascribed to some other influence; and while parliament was expressing the thanks
of

of the nation by votes and addresses to Lord Townshend, Grub-street tuned pæans and gratulations to a Shelbourne, a Hertford, or to some minister on the other side, who might perhaps wish well to the interests of Ireland, but in these instances had no more right to our acknowledgments, than the Roman Pontiff has to the homage of his grace of Canterbury.

But the last resource of these baffled controvertists is still more extraordinary. Say these ingenious gentlemen, take away the Limitation Act, Bounty on Irish Linen, Absentee-tax, Rum-bill, and the like, and where is the pre-eminence of Lord Townshend's administration? It sinks at once to a level with the most corrupt or insignificant that ever went before it. If we admit the premises, we have certainly no right to quarrel with the conclusion: nay it will be but just to allow these miserable sophisters all the advantages they can hope to derive from such a candid state of the argument, since their *petitio principii* shews at once the desperate state of their cause, and the streights to which they are reduced both as logicians and incendiaries. I am not at a loss to discover from whence they have borrowed this species of casuistry. The prototype of their sentence on the administration of his Excel-

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lency, is to be found in the taylor's judgment, who being asked what he thought of the prospect from Richmond-hill, after mature deliberation, pronounced gravely, *that if the trees and the water were away, it would be nothing extraordinary.*

As this is probably the last time I shall ever trouble your readers with my sentiments on matters of a public nature, I cannot lay down my pen, without taking some notice of a writer who has thrust himself into observation, not so much by the merit, as by the length and frequency of his labours. A mirror which reflects nothing that can displease or mortify, is the last into which a man should look, who wishes to see his imperfections, that he may amend them: and it is evident, the self-satisfied Brutus, has hitherto contemplated himself in no other. That which I mean to hold up to him, is of a different nature, it will give him back his features neither softened nor distorted. — Assertions without facts to support them; epithets taken up at random from the refuse of diction; meagre sentiments and self-evident propositions, introduced with an air of triumphant discovery; personality and lying, without pungency or invention; wandering allusions, comparisons

parisons where there is no circumstance of similitude, rhapsodies at once delirious and heavy, spiritless apostrophes, jumbled metaphors, false rhetoric, and false English, are the characteristics of a performance, which the complacent satisfaction of its author has thought worthy of a separate publication, and which he modestly tells us, in some puffing paragraphs of his own framing, are equal in point of composition to the letters of Junius. He has, however, qualified this extravagant eulogium, by allowing that something is to be abated from the merit of Brutus, in consideration of the different rank of the subjects: by which it is to be supposed, he means their different importance; or, in other words, that it is more important to libel his Majesty, than his representative; more daring to write treason, than scurrility; and a more arduous undertaking to mislead the hot-brained populace of London, than to inflame the ragged rabble of the Coombe and Meath-street.—Some qualities of the heart, he may be allowed to possess, in common with that celebrated partizan of English opposition; and in their situations, there may, perhaps, be something similar: it is plain indeed, that they are both exasperated, vindictive, and seditious: but the parallel can go no

farther. Junius has an absolute dominion over his subject, and shews equal art in what he conceals from the public, and in what he divulges. He often throws false lights on his canvas, but his colouring is always vivid. Though we detect his fallacies, we must admire his ingenuity; and while we read his lively invectives, it is impossible not to wish, that so much energy and acuteness of genius, had been called out in the support of a better cause, and that his zeal had been tempered by more sober and constitutional principles: but this poor drudge of a baffled faction, scarce deserves the lowest rank in the files of Grub-street. Destitute of every requisite to form an able advocate, and so far from possessing the powers of enforcing or illustration, he is not master of precision enough even to state intelligibly the pretended grievances of his party; so that his cause, his patrons, and his antagonist, come out of his hands, pretty much as he found them; the first, indeed, somewhat weakened by his incapacity; the second, unadorned by his panegyric; and the last, uninjured by his invectives.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

NUMBER XXI.

Provoco ad populum.

THE writers on the side of government have been accustomed to the appellation of hirelings and mercenaries; they have been accused of uttering their notions on national business, not from principle, but for pay. It has been prophesied of them, that when it was no longer their interest to defend the measures of their patron, they would leave him to the indignation of the people; or, perhaps, unite with those who had reviled him most bitterly, and, by a public desertion of their opinions, make the best apology in their power for having entertained them.

The conduct of these gentlemen has given a practical refutation to this scurrilous conjecture.

Domus hæc nec purior ulla est,

Nec magis his aliena malis.

Had they engaged in the support of administration, from the same motives with those who wish to render it odious, the going down of Lord Townshend's sun would have chilled

their zeal in his service; and the first notification of a successor would have benumbed their faculties. Interest indeed, is for ever fluctuating; subject to ague fits and vicissitudes, hot and cold, high and low, as the political barometer falls or rises; but principle knows no such changes; self-centered, it is superior to external accidents; independent of every thing but itself, it acts steadily, consistently, and openly. The support of a public-spirited administration, is an employment worthy of any man's leisure and abilities, and it has lately devolved on persons, who have never published any opinion, which they have not been able to defend by the authority of the most approved authors; nor have they ever offered to impose a measure on the ignorance, or credulity of their countrymen, but have given the whole of their information without disguise, reserve, or false colouring; appealing to the incontestible evidence of facts, and submitting every circumstance to the judgment of their readers. If notions illiberal and unconstitutional, have at any time crept into the publications supposed to be sanctioned by government, a disavowal has immediately followed; and the only tolerable answer which has yet appeared to the erroneous

sentiments, expressed against the Dissenters of this kingdom, (in a late Batchelor) is to be found in a paper, which almost trod upon its heels, under the signature of Timoleon. Had such a refutation appeared from the popular press, what encomiums should we not have heard on the sagacity and information of the author? What triumph for the victory? What insults over the vanquished?

Lord Townshend has been repeatedly accused of profusion in the management of the public money, and of parsimony in that of his own. The reverse of this injurious charge is nigher the truth. After five years administration, amidst the conflict of factions, the subtlety of intrigue, and the violence of party-rage; at a period, when the venal and corrupt estimate their votes by the necessity of government, and suppose their own want of principle justified by that very necessity.—Such an epoch in our politics, seems ill calculated for the reform of abuses, and the introduction of wise and judicious regulations into every branch of our civil and military establishments. To enter into a minute discussion on these heads, would exceed the limits of my paper. A Chief Governor is entitled to our just and merited eulogiums, who is neither to be cajoled by flattery,

tery, or intimidated by menaces, to deviate from that line of duty, which his own situation and the public good prescribe; and who, by the firmness, the rectitude, and disinterestedness of his conduct, introduces and establishes a system of œconomy, pregnant with national benefits; and checks a system of jobbing, pregnant with national disgrace.

The annual savings will appear extraordinary, and unprecedented; especially, if the state of our establishments at the conclusion of Lord Townshend's administration, is contrasted with that of his predecessors at the same period.—

I shall, therefore, submit the following abstract to the candour and impartiality of the public.

Amount of the Civil Establishments, at the commencement of the administrations of the following Lord Lieutenants.

1763. April 3d. Earl of Halifax,	£. 107,754	4	7
Increase in his administration,	8,707	4	5
1763. April 27th. E. of Northumberland,	116,461	9	0
Increase in his administration,	11,244	16	2½
1765. Aug. 7th. Earl of Hertford,	—	327,706	5 2½
Increase in his administration,	—	1,547	5 7
1766. Oct. 6th. Earl of Bristol,	—	129,253	10 9½
Increase in his administration,	—	8,500	9 0

1767 Aug. 19. Lord Townshend,	£. 137,753	10	9½
Amount, 30th of September, 1772,	134,058	0	2½
Decrease,	—	£. 3,695	10 6½

In Aug. 1767, the pensions amounted to	86,741	7	6
The 30th of September, 1772,	—	76,669	17 6
Decrease,	—	£. 10,131	10 0

Since that time, King's letters have come over for granting above five thousand pounds in pensions;—still there is an annual saving of 5000 l. on this invidious article.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

The half-pay in August, 1767,	—	£. 36,481	7 4½
September 30th, 1772,	—	26,606	4 4½
Annual decrease,	—	£. 9,875	3 0½

I should not omit observing, that the half-pay list, like the *Persian satellites*, was formerly reckoned immortal, as the officers were constantly allowed to sell; and Mr. P———by also took care to convert it into a *civil* list, and prostituted *that* public bounty for the support of the deserving soldier, in pensions to his creatures and dependents. The shameful misapplication of this fund, was prevented by Lord Townshend; and no solicitations, or importunities from any quarter, could ever induce him to swerve from his determined resolution on this important object.

The reduction of the staff has produced
 an annual saving of — £. 2,737 0 0
 In the ordinance, — 579 18 4

Revenue Establishment, ending	Revenue Incidents.
Lady Day 1770, £. 82,787 15 10	£. 30,647 12 3
1772, 80,720 11 2	26,003 4 3
Decrease, — £. 2,067 4 5	£. 4,644 8 0
Incidents, — 4,644 8 0	

Total decrease, £. 6,711 12 5

Which is more than the additional expence,
 contracted by the division of the boards.

The receipt of the revenue, since the 25th
 of March, has been more than in the same pe-
 riod of the preceding by 55,000 l. from which
 20,000 l. may be deducted for the additional
 duty on rum.—Yet there will still remain
 35,000 l. (a sum nearly equal to one year's
 interest of our whole debt) increase in half a
 year.

I have studiously confined myself, in this
 concluding essay on Lord Townshend's govern-
 ment, to particular points of his ministerial
 conduct: to expatiate on the public acts of
 his administration, is now become an unneces-
 sary, and superfluous labour. The improve-
 ment of our constitution, the extension of our
 commerce, the encrease of our revenue, and

the bounty on our linens, are now become the themes of common conversation; and the successful exertion of his Excellency's influence, in obtaining them, are no longer disputed. They are acknowledged, even in the productions of the Free Press; and authenticated in heterogeneous effusions of invective and panegyric.

In the disposal of all military commissions, and civil offices, his Lordship's integrity, and that of his secretaries, have never been impeached, or even suspected;—the *private douceurs* of office, and every species of corruption, have been banished from these departments. Lord Townshend's name and memory, will be revered with gratitude by a generous, a discerning, and an affectionate people.—The momentary, and transient breath of envy, which now obscures, will then add new lustre to his reputation. Order, regularity, and œconomy, are conspicuous in every branch of our finances and revenue; and the same benign public spirit has given us laws, which will render us a rich and flourishing nation. Lord Townshend's administration has been treated like one of those ancient temples, which is admired by every person of taste and judgment, for the simplicity of it's architecture, and elegant correspondence

of its decorations ; yet the mere vulgar, unmoved by its symmetry and beautiful proportions, render its arcades, and porticoes, a disgusting scene of defilement and pollution.

Z

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F I N I S.

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